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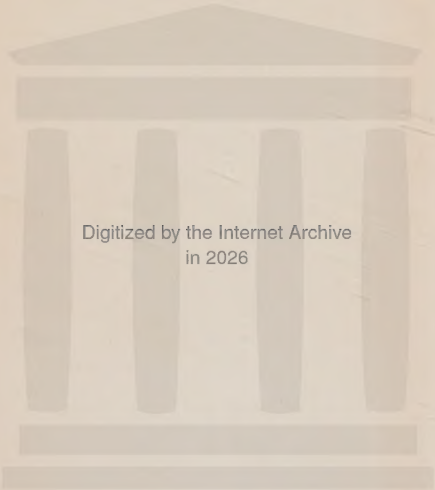
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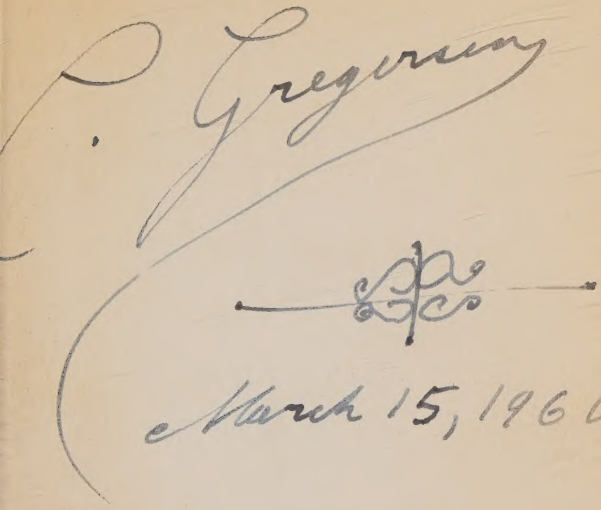
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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE STUDY OF

Gothic Architecture,

BY THE LATE

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

HON. M.A. OXON, F.S.A. LOND., ETC.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS little work was originally written as part of a series of Elementary Lectures recommended by the Committee of the Oxford Architectural Society to be delivered to the junior Members of the Society, in the spring of 1849. They were considered useful and interesting by those who heard them, and as it was thought they might be equally so to others who had not the same opportunity, the President, in the name of the Society, requested the author to publish them. Mr. Winston's admirable Introduction to the Study of Painted Glass formed part of the same series of Elementary Lectures, and has also been published under the same auspices.

The distinction between "plate tracery" and "bar tracery" was first clearly pointed out, and these names applied to them, by Professor Willis at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Salisbury in August, 1849. This distinction is of so much importance in the history of architecture, and these names are so expressive, that when once pointed out it was impossible to avoid making use of them.

The chapter on French Gothic is chiefly the result of observations made on a tour in the central part of

France in the summer of 1849, assisted by the remembrance of several previous visits to Normandy.

The author is happy to take this opportunity of expressing his obligation to several friends for the valuable information and suggestions with which they have favoured him, especially to the Rev. Professor Willis, and R. C. Hussey, Esq., and in France to M. De Caumont of Caen, M. Viollet-le-Duc of Paris, and the Abbé Bulteau of Chartres. He trusts that the slight sketch which he has been enabled to give of French Gothic, and the comparison of it with English, will lead to a more careful investigation of that interesting subject.

THE TURL, OXFORD,
Nov. 6, 1849.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE present edition has been carefully revised and considerably enlarged. The parts intended for the use of beginners are printed in larger type; these consist of the description of the characteristic features of each of the styles in succession, with illustrative engravings on wood, to which descriptions have been added, to make the technical terms more intelligible. A Glossary is also added for the use of children and beginners in the study. The part of the work printed in smaller type is chiefly historical, and intended for the use of more advanced students. The book is one of facts, not of theories or fancies. Some persons may think it dry, as matter-of-fact is apt to be considered by those who are fond of speculation: but the facts here collected afford ample room for further investigation, and for theorizing within certain limits, that is, so far as the theories based upon them are consistent with the facts.

The rapid progress which has been made both in the study and in the practice of Gothic Architecture since this book was written, is very gratifying; the two things should always go together: we always find that the architects who are most successful in practice are those who have studied the history of their art

the most carefully. An objection may be made to this book that too much stress is laid upon French architecture; that the English Gothic is complete in itself, may have been entirely developed at home, and that there is no need for English architects to study the French or any other foreign style. This is true to a certain extent, but at the time that the Gothic style was developed, England and France were so closely connected together that it is impossible to believe that one did not influence the other; and this work is not intended for architects so much as for their employers, the gentry and clergy of England, to whom some knowledge of this subject has become a necessary part of education. They are naturally more interested in the historical than in the practical view of architecture, and the connection between England and foreign countries adds greatly to the interest of a study which has a singular fascination for many minds.

THE TURL, OXFORD,
March 14, 1861.

The Third Edition, issued in 1867, having been a reprint with little alteration, no new Preface was given.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

THIS edition has been thoroughly revised throughout, a few corrections have been made where they seemed to be required; considerable additions have also been made, especially in the foreign part, with the object of making that more useful to tourists, who have greatly increased in numbers of late years. In the English part, the chief alteration consists of calling more especial attention to the construction of the walls.

Professor Willis had shewn long since, in his admirable Architectural Histories of Canterbury and Winchester, the importance of attending to this point, on which the whole history of the fabric necessarily turns; but he did not always apply his own principles himself, still less have others generally done so. The construction of the walls is the real test of the whole history, but it is rarely applied as it should be by archæologists, it is commonly supposed to belong to the architect, or the clerk of the works only. This is a great mistake, the test is a very crucial one, and easily applied when we can get at the surface of the walls free from plaster. The thickness of the mortar between the joints is the best and most certain distinction between a construction of the eleventh

century and one of the twelfth, more especially the upright or vertical joints. The horizontal joints depend more on the building-materials.

We have so few buildings remaining between the Roman period and the year 1000, that we cannot be sure how far this test generally applies to them; but by applying it, on another visit, to the very curious little early church at Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, I became convinced that the present structure is not of the tenth or eleventh century, as there are no wide joints, and, as a small early Norman window is *inserted* in the older wall, it cannot be of the twelfth. It seems, therefore, that it must be the original small church mentioned by William of Malmesbury as existing in the twelfth century, when he wrote his history; he clearly implies that it was something different from the usual churches of that period. The joints in that building are as fine as they well could be; this is partly owing to the excellence of the building-material, (Bath-stone): but in the eleventh century, with the same material, the joints would have been wide. This is at present the only church of that early period for which we have historical evidence agreeing with the existing building, but having ascertained this one, the same test should be applied to all the churches of the Ante-Norman style, of which a list was given by Rickman, enlarged in the "Glossary of Architecture," and by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, and now amounting to about a hundred.

Rickman considered these churches as before the year 1000, but few of them really are so; a large proportion of them are in the Danes' land, and near the mouths of navigable rivers, where it is probable that the Danes had burnt wooden churches during their wars with the Saxons, and it is recorded that King Canute (or Cnut) ordered churches to be built in all the places where churches had previously been burnt by his father or himself.

Mr. Freeman recently shewed to the members of the Royal Archæological Institute at Exeter, in 1873, the probability that parts of the old walls of that city are of the time of King Athelstan, who is recorded to have built a wall round it of *squared stones*, c. A.D. 930. The present wall is of early character, the surface is very much patched from frequent repairs of all periods, after the numerous sieges and battering down the wall, but its earliest parts are faced with *squared stones* of rough work, with wide joints of mortar, in rude imitation of Roman masonry, which may very well be of that period.

The walls of a city are generally built long before any stone building within it, the original city to be enclosed having been built of wood. The same test of wide and fine jointing may be usefully applied to numbers of our country village churches, where the walls are Norman, although at first sight they appear to be of much later character. The windows are often all inserted, the original windows having been

found too small, and the pier-arches are often rebuilt without rebuilding the outer walls.

At Exeter it has been found, on careful examination, that the walls of the Cathedral are Norman, although the windows and details are Early Decorated; the patterns of the window-tracery are identical with those of Merton College Chapel, Oxford, and they are dated 1280—1300 by the fabric rolls, which are preserved, and have been carefully examined by Archdeacon Freeman, one of the Canons of the Cathedral, to whom we are indebted for this information. At Winchester it has long been seen by archæologists that the walls are still Norman, although the windows and details are Perpendicular. Yet few have thought of applying these observations to the parish churches, which almost always followed the cathedrals.

On the Continent there are numerous examples of this alteration of the character without rebuilding. It is only in modern times that the builders, when ordered to *restore* an old structure, have begun by demolishing it, and then rebuild it to the old pattern. In the greater part of the medieval buildings all over Europe some portions of the original walls may be found, if carefully searched for, though often much concealed. The guide-books generally give the date of the original foundation accurately, and this only; although the present appearance of the building may be centuries later, no notice is taken of the frequent alterations and additions. Tourists and hasty tra-

vellers are often very much misled in this manner, they naturally suppose that the date given in these guide-books is that of the building as they see it, and never imagine that they must often hunt in every hole or corner to find any construction of that period visible.

In Italy especially these changes are often very marked; for instance, the cathedral of Pisa has been lengthened in all parts, the nave is twice its original length, and the walls raised to double the original height. The clerestory and the vaults have been added or rebuilt. The present west front is at least a century later than the original foundation, old inscriptions are built in, but are clearly brought from an older wall and built into the newer one; one of them is upside down. No one can walk round the outside of the church without seeing this by the construction, after his attention has once been called to it; and the interior has been almost entirely modernized in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, as is shewn by several inscriptions that remain in their original places, and by the arms of the Medici on the arches of the central tower.

In the present edition more attention has also been called to the Pisan style, the glory of the Pisan Republic, of which the best examples are now in Lucca, which belonged to that Republic, and where the buildings have been less altered than they have been in Pisa itself. This style is distinguished by the number of rich exterior wall-arcades, with their light elegant

detached colonettes or shafts. It was adopted in the Rhine churches, and is commonly miscalled the *Lombardic style*, and supposed to belong to the old Lombards of the eighth or ninth century, but this is altogether a delusion: buildings of that period are as scarce in Lombardy as elsewhere; they were only debased Roman, and clumsy work. The so-called seven churches at Bologna, attributed to the tenth century, are made out of an old Roman temple, and the medieval work is not of the tenth century, but of the eleventh and twelfth.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
November, 1873.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

IN this edition the only alteration that has been made relates to the churches of Benedict Biscop of the eighth century, at Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth. A new woodcut of the latter church has been substituted for the old one, and the porch under the tower is now shewn, which was not visible when Mr. Blore made the sketch from which the old woodcut was taken. This porch is built up against the west wall of the old church, which now makes the lower part of the east wall of the tower. The gable here represented as over the porch in the west wall is of doubtful authority; it is taken from the best drawing that could be obtained, and Mr. Johnson the architect, who made the drawing, is a very high authority; but there is some reason to believe that he was deceived by a mark in the plaster (since removed), and that the porch had been rebuilt when the tower was built upon it. There is a straight vertical joint between the porch and the west wall of the church with its early doorway, that remarkable doorway in which, instead of an arch, we have one long narrow block of rude sandstone. This feature is found also in some other churches in the valley of the Tyne, supposed to be early imitations of this, but the whole seems to depend on the quarries they come from, and where such enormous masses were found they might be used at any time.

Mr. E. A. Freeman has also pointed out a slight inaccuracy in the quotation from the Saxon Chronicle, respecting "the churches ordered to be rebuilt by Canute (*or Cnut*), in all the places where churches had previously been burnt by his father or himself." He says there is no such *general* order to be found in the Chronicle, it is confined to the single instance of Essendune (or Ashington in Essex). This is no doubt literally true, but it may fairly be considered as implied in many other instances. When the Danes first became Christians in the time of *Cnut*, they were very zealous Christians, and as building in stone was just then coming into fashion, after a long interval, nothing could be more natural than that they would build stone churches, to replace the wooden ones that they had burnt in their wars.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
September, 1877.

In the Sixth Edition no alteration has been made in the text, but twelve Plates of fresh examples have been added.

Oxford, March, 1881.

In the Seventh Edition no alteration whatever has been made, but the last Edition published during the Author's lifetime has been strictly followed. Mr. J. H. Parker *died Jan. 31, 1884.*

Oxford, July, 1884.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

CHAPTER I.

From the Roman Period to the end of the Tenth Century.

THE history of ecclesiastical architecture cannot be clearly understood without going back to the beginning. The original type of all Christian churches is universally acknowledged to have been the Roman *Basilica*, or hall. These buildings were numerous in all parts of the empire, and were the most convenient structures then existing for the purpose of congregational worship. Their original use was for the law courts, the merchants' exchange, and market halls, no place being entitled to municipal privileges which did not possess one. The principal room in a palace or large house, *Domus*, was also called a basilica, and was on the same plan: and in these the early Christians assembled for worship, in the houses of the more wealthy Christians We do not find any notice of their having been converted into churches in Eusebius or the other ecclesiastical historians of the period, though it is constantly asserted by modern writers. It is, however, clear that they served as models for the churches. Many of them

are said to have been consecrated by Pope Sylvester in the time of the Emperor Constantine [a], and they became one type of the earliest Christian churches. Their plan was uniform, consisting of a parallelogram divided into three parts longitudinally by two rows of pillars; these divisions became the nave and aisles of the church; the aisles usually had galleries over them: at one end was the tribune for the judges, arranged in a semicircle; this became the apse of the church, and the place for the priests behind the altar, the entrance being at the opposite end. In a few instances they were double, having a tribune at each end, and the entrances at the sides. For some centuries the type of the basilica appears to have been generally followed, but in process of time various changes were introduced; one of the first was to place a transept across, thus producing a cruciform plan. In the western parts of the empire, the plan was that of the Latin cross, the nave being long, the choir and transepts short; in the eastern parts, the plan generally adopted was the Greek cross, the four arms being of equal length.

It is natural to suppose, also, that in different parts of the Roman empire the character and style of building, the more or less perfect masonry or brickwork, would vary according to the civilization of the different provinces and the nature of the building materials, and this we find to have been the case.

In Italy the plan of the basilica was in general closely adhered to: the original basilicas which served as models were numerous in that country, and the ruins of the pagan temples,

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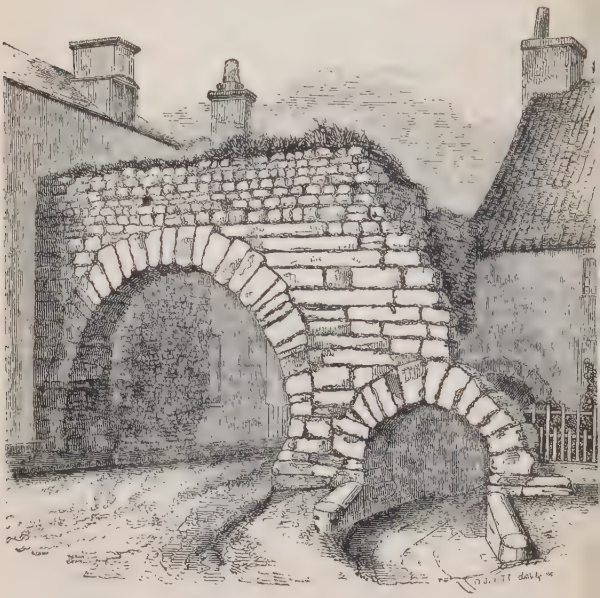
[a] See Anastasius, in the life of Silvester; this passage is, however, probably an insertion.

the palaces and public baths of the ancient Romans, which were destroyed, furnished in many instances the materials of the new churches, the original columns, capitals, entablatures, and other finished parts being employed again, while the main structure was wholly of brick, carefully concealed within by plaster and ornament. In the earlier examples the columns carried horizontal entablatures only, afterwards small brick arches were introduced from column to column; these were at first concealed behind the entablature, but by degrees the entablature was abandoned and the arches were shewn. On the exterior the brick walls were sometimes cased with slabs of marble. Circular churches were *occasionally* used from an early period, as St. Vitale at Ravenna, and St. Stefano Rotondo at Rome.

In Greece, on the other hand, the models before the eyes of the people were superior to those of Rome itself, and as Byzantium became the centre of civilization, the art of building also was in higher perfection there than in the other provinces. The ground-plan was accommodated to the opinions of the people, the Greek cross of four arms of equal length being invariably adopted. Advantage was taken of the facilities afforded by this ground-plan, and of the skill of the workmen, to erect those beautiful cupolas which are still the admiration of the world for their scientific and skilful construction. The Byzantine style thus formed was introduced in the course of time into several other provinces. In Italy it is rare, but a few specimens are found: in the south of France it is more frequent; in the province of Perigord, churches of a thoroughly Byzantine type are numerous.

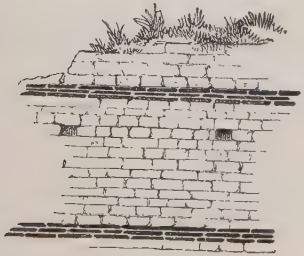
In Lombardy a distinct style was formed, which partakes in some degree of the Byzantine character, but is readily distinguished from it by the absence of the cupola. In the republic of Pisa another peculiar style was introduced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, distinguished chiefly by the great number of small columns used on the exterior. The best examples of this style are at Pisa and Lucca: the well-known falling tower of Pisa is one. In the countries bordering on the Rhine a similar style prevailed, and it continued in use down to the thirteenth century. Many Romanesque churches in Italy and on the Rhine are contemporary with our cathedrals at Lincoln, Wells, and Salisbury.

In Britain the buildings of the Romans appear to have been generally of an inferior description; it was a remote and half-civilized province, and little attention seems to have been paid to the ornamental character of the buildings. It may be useful to mention the usual characteristics of Roman walls in Britain: they may generally be distinguished by layers of large flat tiles laid horizontally at regular intervals, to strengthen and bind together the rubble walling. In some instances, however, Roman walls are built of, or faced with, large stones, without any layers of tiles, and sometimes without mortar, as in the Roman gateway at Lincoln,



1. Roman Gate at Lincoln.

2. Porchester Castle, Hampshire.
Roman Masonry and Arch formed of Roman bricks or tiles.



3. Mint Wall, Lincoln.
Roman Masonry.

part of which is cased with small ashlar-work; and in the Picts' Wall in Northumberland, a great part of which still remains. The actual construction of the mass of the wall is usually concrete, or rubble faced with cut stone, with layers of bricks or tiles. Roman mortar may usually be distinguished by being mixed with pounded brick, and in general by its extreme hardness, being often more difficult to break than the tile or the stone itself. This hardness arises in part from the lime having always been burnt on the spot, and used hot and fresh, on which the strength of lime greatly depends. Occasional instances, however, do occur in which this has been neglected, and Roman mortar is reduced to powder as easily as any other. On the other hand, instances also occur of medieval mortar being as hard as Roman, and also in some few cases mixed with pounded brick. Such occasional and rare exceptions do not interfere with the general rule. The Roman ashlar-work generally used for the facing of the wall in England is of small stones almost cubical, laid in regular courses, with rather wide joints.

The walls of Burgh Castle, Suffolk, and Richborough, Kent, are among the most perfect Roman walls in England. Portions remain, but generally less perfect, in the Roman towns of Colchester, York, Lincoln (**1** and **3**), Porchester (**2**), Silchester, Pevensey, and Caister, and others at Leicester, Worcester, Dorchester, Reculvers, &c. There are vestiges of Roman towns and villas throughout the country, but these consist usually of foundations only. Roman building material is often used again in other buildings near the site of the Roman stations,—as Colchester

Castle; St. Martin's, Canterbury; Darent Church, Kent, &c.

The Roman buildings in England were ruthlessly destroyed by the barbarians who succeeded them, and who appear to have nearly exterminated every trace of civilization. Of the innumerable Roman villas and towns of which the foundations have been discovered in all parts of England, every one bears marks of having been destroyed by violence, and not by time: fire seems to have been the agent of destruction in almost every instance. The upper story was usually of wood, and this greatly facilitated their demolition by fire.

There is no reason to doubt that many of the Romanized Britons were Christians, and had churches; but it is not probable that the pagan barbarians who destroyed every house would leave the churches standing, and instances are very rare of the foundations even of a Roman basilica having been found in England.

The celebrated direction of Pope Gregory the Great to his missionary St. Augustine of Canterbury[b], that "If the temples of the idols are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God," appears to be intended rather as a general instruction on abstract principles, than to be dictated by local knowledge that such was the case.

It appears, however, from Bede[c], that Augustine, by the assistance of the king, recovered the Roman church at Canterbury, and reconsecrated it, and this became

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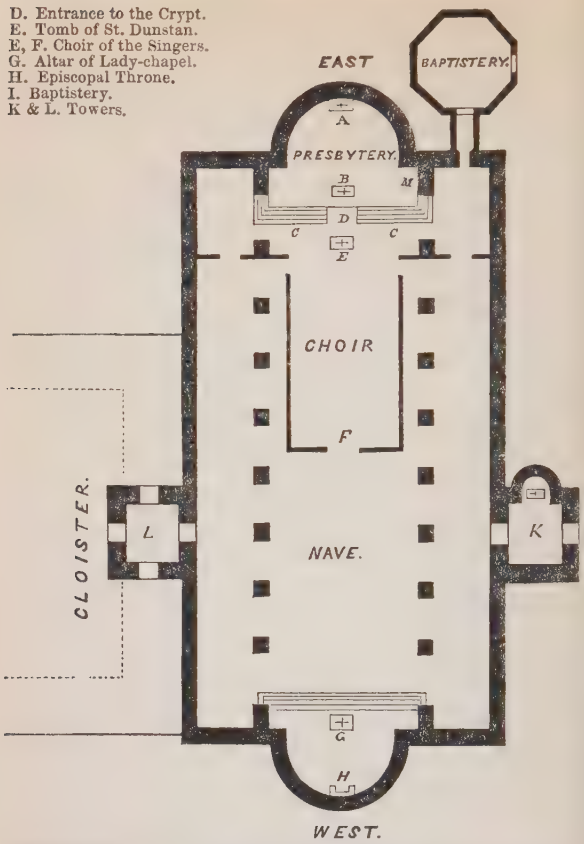
[b] S. Gregorii Magni Opera, ed. Bened., vol. ii. col. 1176.
[c] Bedæ Hist., lib. i. c. 33.

D. Entrance to the Crypt.
E. Tomb of St. Dunstan.
E, F. Choir of the Singers.
G. Altar of Lady-chapel.
H. Episcopal Throne.
I. Baptistery.
K & L. Towers.



4. Plan of Roman and Saxon Cathedral of Canterbury, according to Prof. Willis.

A. The first altar, enclosing the relics of St. Wilfrid: this was the original high altar, and was built of rough stones and cement, according to Edmer[d], which marks its antiquity; it was afterwards considered too sacred for ordinary use, and

B. The second altar was constructed in front of it for daily use.

CC. Steps descending from the Presbytery to the Choir.

[d] Edm. Vit. S. Wilfridi; Mabillon, t. iii. p. 227; MS. C.C.C., p. 77; ap. Willis's Cant., p. 4.

the foundation of the cathedral. Archbishop Cuthbert added a baptistery about A.D. 750. Archbishop Odo raised the walls and rebuilt the roof about A.D. 950. This fabric was entirely destroyed by fire in A.D. 1067, and Archbishop Lanfranc removed the ruins and laid the foundations of an entirely new church. But Professor Willis considers that we have sufficient data to shew what the plan of the ancient church was. (See woodcut, No. 4.)

When the Saxons were converted to Christianity they were not masons; they dwelt in wooden houses, and there can be no doubt that their churches were also *usually* of wood. This is confirmed by numerous passages in contemporary historians, and the frequent mention of the destruction of churches by fire.

The Roman remains in Britain may be said to be dated by history, and by the principle of comparison with the buildings that are dated in Rome itself, or in the Roman provinces. The Romans left Britain early in the fifth century, and the great wall across, from Carlisle to Newcastle, to keep out the Picts, was one of their last works in Britain (*c.* A.D. 416)[e], and the character of the existing remains agrees with this; but in some parts there is evidently construction of two periods. The substructure of at least one fort, or castle, is of the time of Hadrian, with later work built upon it. The other remains of Roman walls in Britain seem, from the construction, to be almost entirely of the third century.

At Uriconium, and at Silchester, the foundations of the basilica have been found; at Brixworth, the present church appears to have been a Roman basilica; the walls are Roman, with the arches filled up with rubble-work; the arches are formed of Roman tiles, and are double, one over the other, for additional strength: it has been much altered at different

[e] Bedæ Hist., lib. i. c. 12.

times, and has a tower of the eleventh century at the west end, built upon the Roman walls either of a porch or a western tribune, with a newel staircase to give access to the belfry story, which was built at the same time with it.

A church is recorded to have been founded in Dover Castle, in A.D. 526, with twenty-two secular canons attached to it, who were appointed and ordained by Adelbald. The establishment was removed into the town in 686, but the old church that remains in the castle seems to be the one then founded.

The existing church in the castle is partly of Roman work, altered in the eleventh century, and again almost rebuilt in the thirteenth. The tower at the west end, which has been a Roman Pharos, has an original Roman arch opening towards the church, but seems to have been always half detached from it, connected by a porch only. The tower of the church in the port at Ravenna is connected with the church in a similar manner, forming what may be called a semi-detached tower, and this was also probably used as a Pharos, or lighthouse. It is of the sixth century, rather later than the one at Dover.

The church of St. Martin at Canterbury was also Roman, but has been so frequently altered, and partly rebuilt, that small portions only of the Roman walls remain. Roman bricks are used as old materials in the parts rebuilt.

In Rome itself the upper stories of the palaces of the Cæsars were of wood, and in the Roman villas in England the upper stories were also of wood. "Half-timber houses," as they are called, that is, houses of which the foundations and the ground-floors only are of stone, and the upper part of wood, have been found convenient, and therefore have been common in all ages; but wood was more used in early times than afterwards. The frequent fires shewed the evil of so much wooden building, and after the revival in the eleventh century, churches were generally built of stone, but these were exceptions at all early periods. In districts where stone could not be obtained without great difficulty and expense, wood was still used, as in Cheshire. In some districts brick was used largely, as in some parts of the low countries in the east of England; but on the banks of rivers where stone could be brought by water-carriage, as in Lincolnshire, it was freely used, and some of our finest churches are in those districts. The building materials had

necessarily great influence in the construction of walls at all periods, but *wide-jointed masonry* is a usual characteristic of the eleventh century in England and Normandy, and the north of France, and in other countries also.

The charter granted by King Edgar to Malmesbury Abbey, late in the tenth century (974), mentions that the churches "were visibly ruinated, with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten boards, even to the rafters [f];" and King Canute's charter to Glastonbury Abbey, in 1032, is dated from the *wooden church* there; yet Glastonbury was one of the most wealthy abbeys, even at that time. The walls were covered inside with plates of gold and silver, and outside with lead, but the material of construction was wood [g]. There is, however, no doubt that the Saxons had *some* stone churches; but the building of a stone church was an event of importance, recorded with much pomp by the historians of the period; they were therefore not common, and it is not until the eleventh century that we can expect to find many remains of stone buildings [h].

Ordinary dwelling-houses continued to be usually of wood throughout the Middle Ages, and in some parts of the country wooden houses are to this day more common than any others. Wooden palisades were also much used in fortification at all periods.

Soon after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, Bede records the building of stone churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow, in the county of Durham, about 680. As this has been considered the starting-point of the history of architecture in England, it

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[f] "When St. Aidan was sick, they set up a tent for him close to the wall at the west end of the church, by which means it happened that he gave up the ghost *leaning against a post that was on the outside to strengthen the wall.*" The church was twice destroyed by fire, but "it would not touch that post, although in a most miraculous manner the fire broke through the very holes in it, wherewith it was fixed to the building, and destroyed the church."—*Bede, Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii. c. 17.

[g] See Chron. Petriburg., p. 3.

[h] In A.D. 652 St. Finan built a church in the island of Lindisfarne: "Nevertheless, *after the manner of the Scots*, (a name which at that period included the Irish,) he made it not of stone, but of *hewn oak*, and covered it with reeds." Eadbert afterwards took off the thatch, and covered it, both roof and walls, with lead. (Bede, lib. iii. c. 25.)

will be better to give the substance of his words:—"A year after the monastery of Wearmouth had been built, Benedict crossed the sea into Gaul, and no sooner asked than he obtained and carried back with him masons to build him *a stone church in the Roman manner*, which he had always admired[i]." The present churches at these two places still retain considerable parts of the original structure, although they have been partially rebuilt towards the end of the eleventh century. As we see from the account given by Beda, that the church at Jarrow was built in one year, it must have been small (see p. 37). There are also a few other churches in the valley of the Tyne, which retain features of very rude and early character, especially doorways, very much resembling that at Monk-Wearmouth, the top of the doorway being formed of one stone; but this evidently depends a good deal on the quarries from which the stone is taken[k].

Before the end of the seventh century stone churches were built by St. Wilfrid at York, Ripon, and Hexham. At York there are no remains of this period, the church having been several times rebuilt, and the earliest portions now remaining are the foundations of the early Norman one. But at Ripon and Hexham are crypts closely resembling each other in plan, dimensions, and character: they are evidently very early; and at Hexham, bits of Roman ornamented mouldings are built into the walls, which is generally an indication of early work. (See woodcut, No. 5.) The plan of these crypts is a small oblong cell, with very massive walls, and a passage in the thickness of the walls round three sides of the cell: these passages are not level, but ascending and descending, and there are small openings at intervals, as if for persons to look into the cell, or possibly for confession. They are popularly called confessionals, but this name is so commonly given to any part of a church of which the use is not obvious, that no importance can be attached to it.

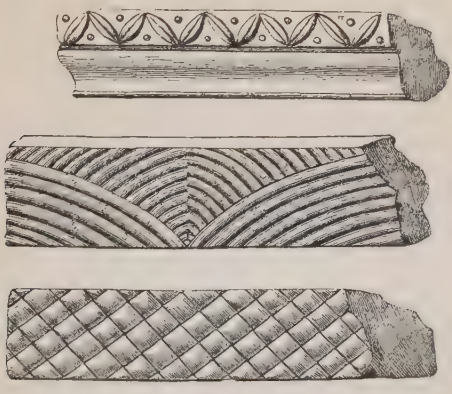
The ascending and descending passages coincide exactly with the description given by Eddius, in his life of Wilfrid[l],

[i] Bedæ, Vitæ de SS. Benedict, Abb. Wiramuth et Gyrum, &c., s. 1 and 5.

[k] A full account of these will be found in the Proceedings of the Durham and Newcastle Archæological Society.

[l] See Observations on the Crypt of Hexham Church, Northumberland, by T. Hudson Turner, in the Archæological Journal, vol. ii. p. 239.

and the coincidence is too remarkable to be considered as accidental. (See No. 6.) They seem to indicate that these crypts were used on certain occasions for the exhibition of the relics of the saint, according to an ancient custom still in common use on the Continent: the faithful descend by one staircase, pass along the narrow passage, look through the opening in the wall



5. Fragments of Roman Mouldings built in at Hexham.

at the relics, and then pass on, ascending by the other staircase; or sometimes are allowed to pass through one corner of the inner chamber, or cell, and touch the coffin of the saint. The same arrangement occurs in the crypt of St. Peter's Church, Oxford, as was discovered by some excavations made in the year 1862.

The old church at Bradford, Wiltshire, is one of the most perfect examples of the Anglo-Saxon class: the construction is very remarkable; the stones are unusually large, well cut, and closely-fitted together, with fine joints. In the interior, there are two small figures of angels with scrolls, which seem to have been on the capitals or imposts of the chancel-arch, and which bear a strong resemblance to two figures in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, A.D. 960, published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. Plate VIII. [1832]; but one of them has been moved, and the carving may be later than the original construction. A Norman

6. Plan of the Crypt at Hexham.

A. Present entrance, a square pit 7 ft. long by 2 ft. 7 in. broad, and about 18 ft. deep to the bottom level of the crypt.

B. An arched chamber, 9 ft. 2 in. by 5 ft. 7 in., height to top of roof 9 ft.; recess in the wall, cavity at the bottom.

C. The cell, an arched chamber, 13 ft. 4 in. by 8 ft., same height as B, three square recesses in side walls, with a cavity in the bottom stone, (perhaps for holy water, or for a lamp,) and a funnel-shaped hollow above; a stone bracket at the east end, as shewn in plan.

D. A small chamber, (pointed triangular roof, formed with large flat stones,) 5 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.; height to apex of roof 8 ft.

E. A passage, 2 ft. 6 in. broad, length to angle 8 ft. 6 in., elbow 4 ft., flat roof covered with large stones.

F. A small chamber, 6 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in., with a pointed triangular roof, same as D.

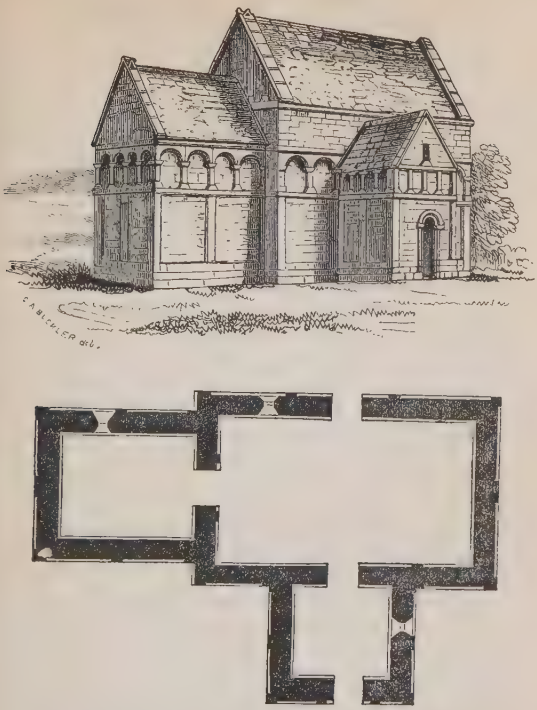
G. A passage, 2 ft. 6 in. broad, 6 ft. 6 in. high, length to angle 13 ft. 6 in., elbow to north 4 ft., walled up with dry stones.

H. A Roman inscribed slab forms the cover to this angle of the passage.

The dotted half-circles at the openings from one chamber to another, are arched doorways about 6 ft. 3 in. in height.

The crypt at Ripon is similar as to the general plan of passages round three sides of a central cell, but the entrances are not arranged quite in the same manner.

window is inserted in the old wall. The exterior is ornamented with shallow arcading of very unusual character, being only



7. View and Plan of the Anglo-Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, A.D. 705.

incised in the surface of the stone, and not regularly built as arches, nor projecting, so that this ornament might have been cut at any subsequent time after the church was built, but it is itself of rude and early character. This curious building is probably the small original church of the abbey founded by

St. Aldhelm in the eighth century, A.D. 705. It is mentioned by William of Malmesbury, as existing in his time[m]. It stood originally in the same churchyard with the present large church, part of which is of the time of Henry II. This good construction may be partly accounted for by the excellent quality of the material, and the situation, in the midst of, or under quarries of excellent stone, of the quality usually known as Bath stone, an oolite very similar to the Caen stone; but this is not sufficient to account for the absence of wide joints of mortar, which are an invariable characteristic of buildings of the eleventh century. Fine-jointed masonry was not introduced before the beginning of the twelfth century, as is proved by the examination of every building whose date can be ascertained to belong to the earlier period[n].

St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, founded three monasteries in Wiltshire, at Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford, at the beginning of the eighth century: the charter was confirmed by King Ina in 705[o]. He also built or rebuilt his cathedral at Sherborne, and William of Malmesbury says he had seen this church; we have no other remains of that period at any of those places; but the old church at Bradford may fairly be assigned to that date.

In the year 710 Bede records that Naitan, king of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, and prayed to have architects sent him to build a church in his nation *after the Roman manner* [that is, of stone, not of wood], promising to dedicate the same in honour of St. Peter, "and Ceolfrid sent the architects as he desired." This probably records the first introduction of stone churches into Scotland.

In the ninth century many churches were destroyed in the incursions of the Danes, and although Alfred exerted himself

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[m] Wilhelmus Malmesburiensis de Vita Aldhelmi, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 22.

[n] This observation is intended to apply to buildings with mortar in the joints, not to the early buildings of natural construction. Some of the later examples of that class have very fine joints, too fine indeed to admit mortar or cement of any kind; but these belong to a much earlier period. After the revival of building in cut stone, subsequent to the year 1000, the construction was at first very rude, and the joints wide.

[o] Wilhelmus Malmesburiensis de Vita Aldhelmi, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 22.

greatly after the restoration of peace, and employed a sixth part of his income "in the erection of new edifices [of stone] in a manner admirable and hitherto unknown to the English," no buildings of his age are known to exist.

In the tenth century we are told by William of Malmesbury, that "King Athelstan and Archbishop Odo built and repaired many monasteries:" the word *monasterium* (or minster) at this period, and long afterwards, frequently means only a church, with three or four priests attached to it. In Osborne's Life of St. Dunstan mention is made of the building, or rebuilding, of many churches and monasteries by King Edred and King Edgar. The Saxon Chronicle and the Peterborough Chronicle both record the building or restoring of many churches and monasteries by St. Athelwold, and Ordericus Vitalis mentions that St. Dunstan, St. Oswald, and St. Athelwold built twenty-six abbeys or nunneries. The large number of them, and the rapidity with which they were built, shew that they were of wood.

In these wooden churches all the ornamentation was of metal-work, either bronze or more precious metals; these have all been melted down, and the wood burnt or decayed. As late as A.D. 962, William of Malmesbury[P] also tells us that St. Dunstan, as Archbishop of Canterbury, "built, or rebuilt, many monasteries in all parts of the island, and *accumulated precious metals* for the ornamentation of the altars and of the buildings." It is evident that these buildings were of wood for the most part, but others may have been of stone, as some were standing at the time that William of Malmesbury wrote, about A.D. 1140. The great abbey churches and cathedrals built at that time were certainly of stone (as Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, Winchester, and Ramsey); but a century afterwards these were, either on account of the bad construction, or because they were thought too small, entirely rebuilt by the Normans.

In the illuminations of the celebrated Benedictional of St. Athelwold, engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., A.D. 1832, the capitals and other architectural ornamentation have very much the appearance of being partly of metal and part of wood, rather than of stone. We know that bronze was used for architectural

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[P] Wilhelm. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif., p. 202.

ornaments from the earliest period. In the temple of Solomon "all the ornamentation was of cedar-wood and bronze."

A curious poetical description of the rebuilding of Wincheste Cathedral by St. Athelwold, A.D. 980, written by his disciple Wolstan, has been preserved; it is very magniloquent, bu leaves no doubt that the material was stone, that it had a cryp and was considered one of the most magnificent works of tha age in England[q]; yet within a century afterwards this churc was so much out of repair, or then considered so small, that Bishop Walkelyn found it necessary to build an entirely new one on another site. At the end of this century many churches were again destroyed by the Danes, who overran sixteen counties, and besieged London. It is most probable also that at this period the Christians in England partook of the general belief of Christendom, that the world was to come to an end in the year 1000, and of the lethargy which accompanied that belief.

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[q] MS. Reg. 85, c. vii. in the British Museum, printed in the *Monasticum Anglicanum*, and frequently reprinted. The most important parts are extracted in the Companion to the Glossary of Architecture, 8vo., Oxford, 1846, at the date A.D. 980, p. 19.

"Istius antiqui reparavit et atria templi
Mœnibus excelsis culminibusque novis;
Partibus hoc austri firmans et partibus arcti
Porticibus solidis arcubus et variis," &c.

CHAPTER II.

Division of Styles.

THE architecture of the Middle Ages, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, is usually divided into certain periods, or styles, for the convenience of classification and to assist the memory. These styles are by no means arbitrary; they are strictly historical periods, during which certain characters prevailed, succeeding each other in a regular, natural, and well-ascertained order. The change from one style to another was not immediate; it generally took nearly half a century to effect the transition; and the last half of each of the five centuries, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, was such a period of change or transition. *Buildings of the last ten years of a century generally belong in style rather to that which follows.*

1. To the eleventh century belong the greater part of the buildings of the Anglo-Saxon style. In the last half of the century the Norman style was gradually introduced.

2. In the twelfth century the buildings belong chiefly to the Norman style. In the last half of it, the transition from the Romanesque, or Norman, to the Early English, or first Gothic style, took place.

3. In the thirteenth century the buildings belong chiefly to the style which is usually called Early English; the last half of it is the period of transition to the Decorated style, which became established before the end of that century.

4. In the fourteenth century the general character

is of the style called Decorated; the last half of it is the period of transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style.

5. In the fifteenth century the Perpendicular style prevailed, and this continued during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, though not without symptoms of a change even before the close of the fifteenth. It was revived again, or perhaps lingered on, to the beginning of the seventeenth; what are called Jacobean Gothic buildings of the time of James I. are often very good examples of the Perpendicular style, such as the choir of Wadham College Chapel, and Jesus College Chapel, in Oxford.

6. In the sixteenth century the Roman style was revived, and that period was called the Renaissance. In Italy it was called Cinque Cento, from the Italian mode of reckoning; *Cinque Cento* in Italian usually signifies what we call the sixteenth century; the thousand is always left to be understood, and the hundred is called after the figures that represent it; this error is common in other countries also. Many persons, not thinking on the subject, call the century by the figures that represent it. Thus, 1450 they call the fourteenth century, and 1350 the thirteenth century. The revival of the Pagan style did however begin in Rome in the fifteenth century. In England this style at first assumed a character of its own, and is usually called the Elizabethan style, which is a mixture of the old English and the ruder Italian of the Renaissance.

This nomenclature and this classification of the styles are alike confined to England and English work. The names of

First Pointed, Middle Pointed, and Third Pointed are general, and were intended by their authors to be applied to all Europe. But the progress of the art was not entirely simultaneous, and it would be entering on too wide a field to attempt to point out the character in each country at each period. It will therefore be more convenient to confine our attention to England, and to make use of the received terms, which are most generally understood, and most applicable to the peculiar features of our own buildings.

The name of Pointed applied to the Gothic styles is further objectionable as being calculated to mislead beginners in the study, who are thereby led to attach far too much importance to the form of the arch, which is not a safe guide at any period. Many very good Gothic buildings, especially castles and houses, have scarcely any pointed arches in them, even as late as the Edwardian castles; and, on the other hand, the pointed arch is found in buildings of early Norman character, of the time of Henry I., and becomes more common than the round arch in the time of Henry II., before the end of the twelfth century. The First Pointed style in England is therefore the style of the twelfth century, and in the south of France of the eleventh. The inventors of this nomenclature applied it to the buildings of the thirteenth century, the earliest period at which the use of Gothic mouldings and details was fully established; but the introduction of these was not simultaneous with that of the pointed arch.

Beginners also naturally assume that all round-headed doorways belong to the Norman style or period, which is very far from being always the case. Round-headed doorways, with distinctly Early English mouldings, are extremely common. They also naturally assume that flat-headed or segmental-headed doorways or windows cannot belong to the *Pointed* style, or only to the latest and most debased period of it. This is also a mistake; there are many long, narrow Early English windows with flat heads, and segmental-headed windows are common in the Decorated style, as are also flat-headed windows in some parts of the country. These are often local peculiarities, and not any characteristic of the period. These persons also object to the name of *Early English*, as assuming that the Gothic or Medieval style is exclusively English; this is not the meaning of the term. There are Early French, Early German, or Early Belgian

Gothic buildings, but each has some national or local peculiarities distinct from the Early English, which is the most pure Gothic of all. The round abacus to the capitals is the natural form for the style, and this is almost exclusively English. It is probable that the style was developed in England a few years earlier than in any part of the Continent, owing to the long peace during the reign of Henry II., throughout the British dominion, just during the period of the greatest transition of styles.

The French Archæologists also call our Norman style the *Anglo-Norman style*, and they are right: this style was not fully developed until after the time of the Norman Conquest, and from that time Normandy became a province of England, and the buildings on the Norman side of the channel are not at all in advance of those on the English side. The buildings of the thirteenth century in Normandy are of Early English, not of Early French character. The round abacus is common in Normandy.

Immediately after the year 1000, when the long-dreaded millenium had passed, the Christian world seems to have taken a new start, and was seized with a *furore* for erecting stone buildings. Radulphus Glaber, who died in 1045, and appears to relate what he had seen, says that so early as the year 1003 the number of churches and monasteries which were building in almost all countries, more especially in Italy and in France, was so great, that the world appeared to be putting off its old dingy attire and putting on a new white robe. "Then nearly all the bishops' seats, the churches, the monasteries of saints, and even the oratories in the villages, were changed by the faithful for better ones[a]."

[a] "Igitur infra supra dictum millesimum, tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis innovari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet pleræque decenter locatæ minimi indiquissent: æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christi-colarum adversus alteram decentiore frui. Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse

In the year 1017 Canute succeeded to the throne, and soon began to restore the monasteries which had been injured or destroyed by the military incursions of himself and of his father: "He built churches in all

8. Barnack[b], Northamptonshire.
Tower-arch of Anglo-Saxon character.

the places where he had fought, and more particularly at Aschendune [Ashdon, Essex]." This edifice is

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excutiendo semet rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret. Tunc denique episcopalium sedium ecclesias pene universas, ac cætera quæque diversorum sanctorum monasteria, seu minora villarum oratoria in meliora quique permutavere fideles."—*Glabri Radulphi Historiæ*, lib. iii. cap. 4, ex bibl. Pithœi, fol. Francof., 1506, p. 27.

[b] Barnack was one of the places where the old church was burnt by the Danes in their raid through that part of the country, and rebuilt by order of Canute, after the settlement of the Danes.

called a Basilica, and is expressly mentioned as being of *stone and lime;* at the consecration of it, Canute was present himself, and the English and Danish nobility made their offerings. All these circumstances shew that it was a building of considerable importance at that time. Yet William of Malmesbury, writing about a century afterwards, says that in his time it was "an ordinary church, under the care of a parish priest[c]."

In 1041 EDWARD THE CONFESSOR succeeded to, and carried on, the good work of restoration which had been begun by Canute. In the great abbey that he founded at Westminster, the style of the building is distinctly Norman, though early in that style. It is about as much advanced as the work in Normandy of the same period, and is said to have been built by Norman workmen. The original parts of the church of St. Stephen, or the *Abbaie aux hommes*, at Caen, are not more advanced[d]; but the work was carried on after the Conquest, and it is doubtful how much is of the time of the Confessor. Many churches and monasteries were now rebuilt, and new ones founded, and as masonry and the art of building were improved by practice, and by the importation of Norman workmen, it is probable that we have several churches of this period still remaining.

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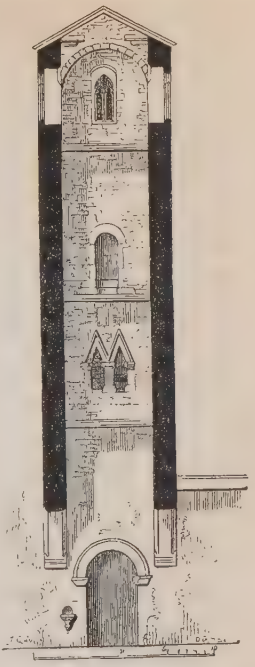
[c] William of Malmesbury, lib. ii. c. 181, A.D. 1020, vol. i. p. 306, ed. Hardy: "Ad consecrationem illius Basilicæ ut ipse affuit, et optimates Anglorum et Danorum donaria porrexerunt; nunc ut fertur, modica est Ecclesia presbytero parochiano delegata."

[d] See "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," by Sir G. G. Scott, R.A., 8vo., 1861, and a Memoir of St. Stephen's Church, Caen, by J. H. Parker and G. Bouet, in the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1863 and 1866. The vaults are a century later than the walls.

Leofric and his wife Godiva built many monasteries in this reign; among them Stow in Lincolnshire is mentioned; and of the present church at Stow it is probable that the lower part of the walls of the transepts, with the jambs of the arches on the north and south sides of the tower are of this date. It is a curious and interesting cruciform church: the nave is early Norman, the chancel late Norman, and a Norman clerestory has been added upon the Anglo-Saxon walls of the transepts; later arches have also been introduced within the old ones, either to reduce the size of the tower, or because the builders were afraid to trust the old arches, though these are Norman, built upon the Saxon jambs.



9. Tower of Deerhurst Church, A.D. 1053.
The upper story is an addition.

The church of Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, may also be safely assigned to this period. The chancel-arch is now built up; the original chancel was destroyed in the Civil Wars, and a stone, with an inscription recording the dedication of the church in 1053, was dug up on the site of the chancel, and sent to Oxford, where it is now preserved among the Arundel marbles in the Ashmolean Museum. The tower is a very remarkable one, being divided into two parts by a solid wall, with a barrel-vault over one division only, but this vault is of later date. The tower itself may be, and probably is, of somewhat later date than the chancel was, and the inscription related to the chancel rather than the tower.

The church of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, also has an inscription in the Danish language recording its erection by Earl Tosti, in

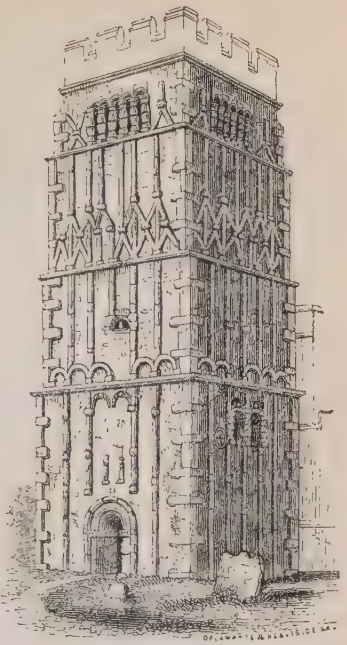
the time of Edward the Confessor, about 1060. Respecting this church, Rickman, with his usual accuracy and caution, observed, "As this inscription has been removed from its original place, it is now no evidence of itself as to what part of the church is Saxon; but as the western door, now stopt, and the arch to the chancel, are both of them very rude, though in some degree resembling Norman, they may, on a careful examination of them, be considered portions of the old building." There can be little doubt that several of the towers now generally considered as Anglo-Saxon belong to this reign [e]. It should be noticed also that these early towers are generally more lofty, and of smaller diameter, than the Norman towers usually are.

The characteristic features of the buildings of this style, by which they are readily distinguished, may be briefly described.

The towers are without buttresses or staircases, and are either of the same dimensions from the ground to the summit, or diminishing by stages, or, in some late examples, slightly battering. The masonry of the earlier examples is very rude and irregular, often with tiles built in among the stones, and frequently of the kind called herring-bone, and was, in many instances, originally covered with plaster. There are almost always at the angles quoins formed of long stones set upright, alternately with others, either long or short, laid horizontally, being what is technically called

[e] Their peculiar character was first pointed out by Mr. William Twopeny to his friend the late Mr. Rickman, who followed up the search with great diligence and success, and described them admirably. His researches have since been followed up by Mr. M. H. Bloxam and others, and the number of churches of this character enumerated in the Glossary of Architecture is about a hundred. Mr. Twopeny has since come to the conclusion that the greater part of these are *not* Saxon. By this he probably means that they are not earlier than the year 1000, many of them are before the time of the Norman Conquest, but that event made no immediate change in the style of architecture.

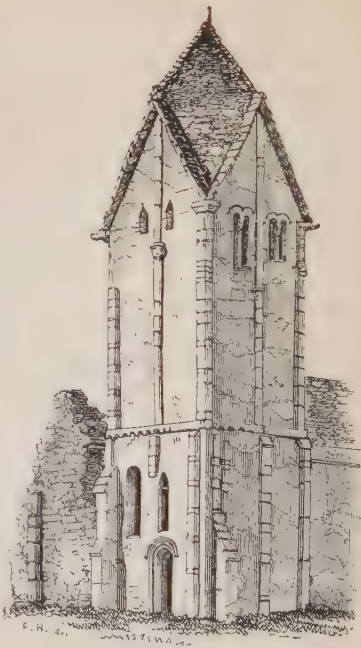
long-and-short work, as at Corhampton Church, Hampshire, (**17**). In several instances this long-and-short work is carried over the surface of the tower in the manner of a framework of timber, as in the tower of Earl's Barton, (**10**). This framework is evidently intended to bind together the rude masonry of the walls, and gives an idea of their having been imitated from timber-buildings. Each side of the tower of Sompting Church ends in a gable, and from thence rises a pyramidal roof, in the manner of the German churches; and this was probably the mode in which most of the towers were terminated originally, as the parapets of all the other examples known of this character are comparatively recent.



10. Tower of Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire, shewing the Anglo-Saxon character, with "long-and-short work" at the corners, and the "pilaster strips," or an imitation of wooden construction in stone, which has been called "stone carpentry."

The windows are frequently triangular-headed; that is, the head is formed by two straight stones placed

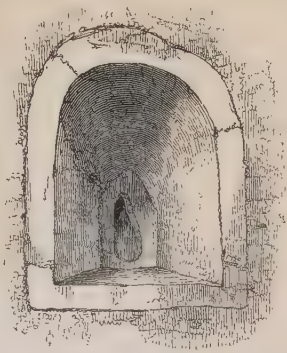
obliquely and meeting in a point, whilst the jambs are formed either of single stones, or of long-and-short work, (**13**). Sometimes the single windows are mere rude openings in the walls, round-headed (**12**), and, in many cases, the arch is formed of *tiles* set edgeways, forming a triangular head; in small windows the head is frequently cut out of a single stone, and often a frame-work of square-edged stones runs quite round the window; the opening is likewise, in many instances, wider at the bottom than at the top. Another common feature is, that they are splayed on the outside as well as the inside, the window being set in the middle of the wall; the opening widens both outwards and inwards, as at Caversfield, Bucks., (**12**), whereas in the windows of the later styles the window is usually placed near the outer face of the



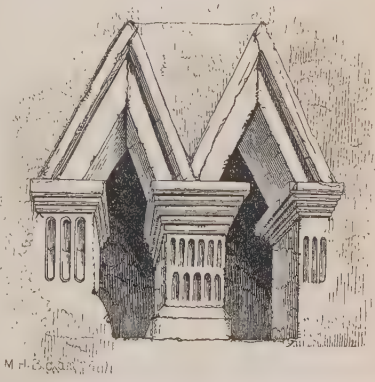
11. Tower, Sompting, Sussex.

Of the Anglo-Saxon character, with long-and-short work at the angles, and pilaster strips on the face.

wall, and splayed within only. The double windows are either triangular-headed or round-headed, but their chief peculiarity consists in the divisions of the lights; these are usually not divided by a piece of masonry, but by a rude kind of shaft, or baluster, set in the middle of the wall, and supporting the impost, which is a long stone carried through the entire thickness of the wall (**14**)[f]. The doorways, like the windows, are either triangular-headed or round-headed, and are sometimes built of rough stones, and perfectly plain, sometimes, like the windows, surrounded by a



12. Window, Caversfield, Buckinghamshire. With small opening and very wide splay.

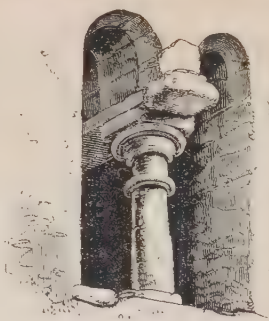


13. Belfry Window, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, A.D. 1053. With triangular heads and fluted pilasters.

[f] These are technically called mid-wall shafts, they are common in many parts of the Continent, and are not always early, though they generally are.

framework of square-edged stones, with plain stones for imposts; but in some instances these imposts are moulded, or ornamented with fluting, and the arches are also moulded: some of these mouldings are exactly like Norman work.

Sculptures are not frequent, but the cross of the Greek form is found in several places. In general, few mouldings are used, and some of these are thought to resemble Roman rather than Norman work, as at Sompting and Deerhurst. (See **11** and **13**) The chancel-arch and the tower-arch frequently remain in the buildings of this class; they are distinguished chiefly by the peculiar character of the impost mouldings, which are different from those of any subsequent style: sometimes merely a



14. Belfry Window, Wickham, Berkshire. Of the Anglo-Saxon character.

15. Belfry Window, St. Mary, Bishop's-Hill Junior, York. Of the Anglo-Saxon character.

square tile-shaped stone is used, and sometimes the lower edge is chamfered off, like the common Anglo-Norman moulding; in other cases the mouldings are very singular, as at Barnack (8) and Corhampton. The impost frequently has its projection inward from the jamb of the arch, and is not carried along the plain face of the wall[g].

16. Belfry Window with Balusters, Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire.

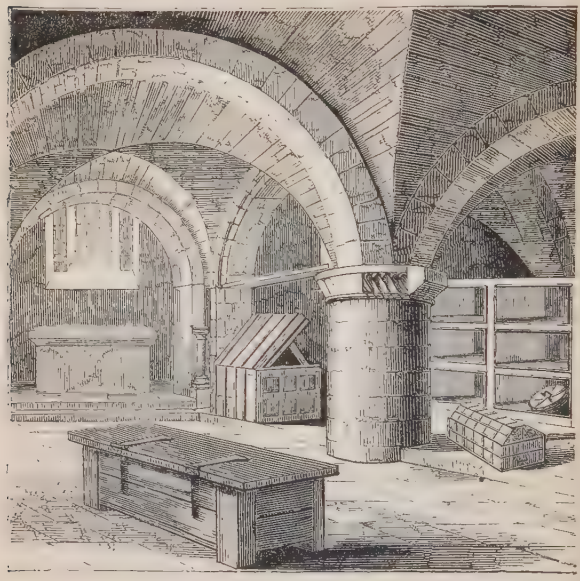
17. Corhampton Church, Hampshire.

g They frequently appear to have been left plain by the builders, with the intention of being carved afterwards.

CHAPTER III.

The Early Norman Period.

THE Norman style was introduced into England in the time of Edward the Confessor; the king himself founded the great Abbey of Westminster, and many of the buildings were begun in his time. Of this



18. Early Norman Vaulting, Chapel of the Pix, in the substructure of the Dormitory, Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1060—1066.

church he had completed the choir and transepts, which were sufficient for the performance of divine service, and it was then consecrated, Dec. 28, 1065, a few days

only before his death. The nave at that time was not built: it is probable tha a nave was built soon afterwards, but of this church we have no remains[a]. The dormitory was in all probability building at the same time, as the monks who had to perform the service in the church must have required a place to sleep in. Of this dormitory the walls and the vaulted substructure remain (**18**). The refectory also was begun at the same period, and we have the lower part of the walls, with the arcade at the foot; the work is rude and clumsy Norman, with wide-jointed masonry, and the capitals left plain, to be painted or carved afterwards.

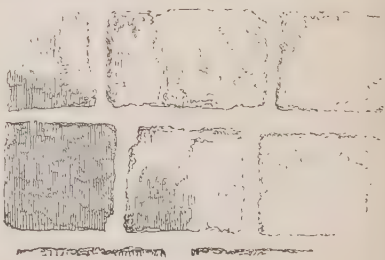
Soon after the Norman Conquest a great change took place in the art of building in England. On consulting the history of our cathedral churches, we find that in almost every instance the church was rebuilt from its foundations by the first Norman bishop, either on the same site or on a new one; sometimes, as at Norwich and Peterborough, the cathedral was removed to a new town altogether, and built on a spot where there was no church before; in other cases, as at Winchester, the new church was built near the old one, which was not pulled down until after the relics had been translated with great pomp from the old church to the new. In other instances, as at York and Canterbury, the new church was erected on the site of the old one, which was pulled down piecemeal as the

[a] Fragments of a church of the twelfth century have been dug up in different parts of the church; and the remains of St. Catherine's Chapel, which belonged to the infirmary, are of the time of Henry I.

new work progressed. These new churches were in all cases on a much larger and more magnificent scale than the old; they were also constructed in a much better manner, the Normans being far better masons than the Saxons.

Notwithstanding this superiority of workmanship to that which had preceded it, the *early* Norman masonry is extremely rude and bad; the joints between the stones are often from one inch to two or three inches wide, and filled with mortar not always of very good quality. In consequence of this imperfect construction, many of the towers fell down within a few years after their erection. It is probable, however, that the workmen employed on these structures were for the most part Saxons, as the Normans must have been too much employed otherwise during the reign of the Conqueror to execute

19. Rubble Masonry, Gundulph's Tower, called St. Leonard's, at Malling, Kent, A.D. 1070. The earliest Norman Keep in existence.



20. Wide-jointed Masonry, Chapel in the White Tower, London, A.D. 1081.

much masons' work with their own hands. Nor were the Norman monks established in sufficient numbers to be able to superintend all the works which were going on at this period; the cathedrals and large monasteries must have occupied nearly all their attention. The ordinary parish churches which required rebuilding must have been left to the Saxons themselves, and were probably built in the same manner as before, with such slight improvements as they might have gleaned from the Norman works.

The Normans themselves were, however, but little in advance of the English in the building art: the style which we call Norman correctly for this country, is called by the French archæologists ANGLO-NORMAN, and with reason; that style was developed as much in England as in Normandy.

We have a strong confirmation of this in the city of Lincoln: the Conqueror having taken possession of about a quarter of the old city to build a castle upon, and Bishop Remigius having purchased nearly another quarter to build a cathedral and monastery, the Saxon inhabitants were driven down the hill on which the old city stands, and took possession of some swampy land at the foot of the hill, which they drained, and redeemed from the fens or marshes of which nearly all the low country then consisted. On this new land they built several churches. One of these, St. Peter's at Gowts (21), or at the Sluices, remains nearly entire, and St. Mary le Wigford has retained the tower built at this period[b]. This is an important and interesting fact in the his-

[b] For these particulars respecting the city of Lincoln I was indebted to my lamented friend the late Mr. E. J. Wilson of that city, one of the most learned archæologists of his day, the author of the Glossary in Pugin's "Specimens," and of much of the letterpress in the works of the elder Pugin, the "Specimens" and "Examples" of Gothic Architecture.

tory of architecture, as it confirms what was before only a natural supposition, and it enables us to fill up a gap: we appeared to have scarcely any parish churches of the early Norman period, but it is now evident that many of the long list of churches of the Anglo-Saxon type belong to a period subsequent to the Conquest. The tower of St. Michael's Church, Oxford, is one of those included by Rickman as of the character supposed to be Saxon, but the imposts of the window-arches are quite of Norman character, and it was probably built after the Conquest. The tower of Oxford Castle was built by Robert D'Oyly in the time of William Rufus, but it has much of the appearance of the Saxon buildings.

21. Tower, St. Peter at Gowts, Lincoln, c. 1080. Of the Anglo-Saxon character.

The churches at Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth were almost entirely rebuilt in the latter part of the eleventh century, by monks sent from Durham, but the old materials were used, and portions of the old walls retained. At Monk-Wearmouth the west wall of the old church forms the east wall of the tower up to a certain height. The other three walls have been rebuilt of the old materials. There is a straight vertical joint between these porch-walls and the old church, and some of the stones are misplaced. The arch of the north door has been reversed. At Jarrow one wall of the chancel appears

to have belonged to the old church, both the towers are of the eleventh century, or certainly the upper part[c]. The date of the partial rebuilding of the present church must be shortly after 1075, when the monk Aldwin and his two associates were placed there by Walcher, bishop of Durham: and "when the bishop saw the monks wishful to rebuild the church itself and the ruined monastic dwelling-places, he gave to them the vill of Jarrow with its appendages, viz. Preston," &c. The rebuilding of Jarrow was subsequent to that of Wearmouth, and if we assign the date of 1083 to it, we cannot be far wrong (**22**).

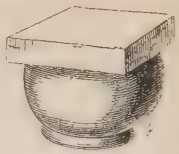
22. Tower, Monk's Wearmouth, Durham, A.D. 1075.

Of the Anglo-Saxon character.

Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, was the great architect of the time of William the Conqueror. The first building of his that we have remaining is the keep of his castle at Malling, in Kent, called St. Leonard's Tower, which was built about 1070 (**19**). This is of earlier character than any keep in Normandy. My lamented friend, M. de Caumont, long the leader of the Norman antiquaries, examined the sites of the castles of all the barons who came over to England with William, and he found no masonry of that period in any one of them. Their castles had consisted of very fine earthworks and wood only. Soon after this time, Gundulph built the keep of the castle in London called the White Tower (**20**), and the cathe-

[c] Simeon of Durham, in his short summary prefixed to the "History of the Church of Durham," and chapters 56 and 57.

dral[e] of Rochester, of which we have a part of the crypt, and some remains of the wall of the nave and north transept. The whole of this work is extremely rude; the construction is usually rubble. When of ashlar, the joints are very wide, and the capitals of the shafts clumsy. (**24.**)

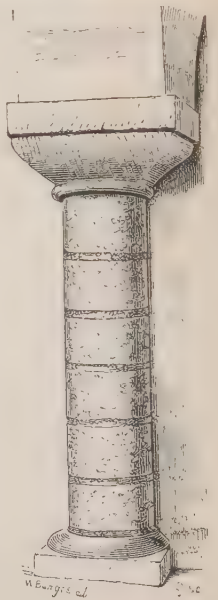


23. Capital, Jarrow, A.D. 1075.

The abbey church of St. Alban's, built in the time of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, as distinctly recorded by contemporary historians, partakes of the Saxon character in many parts: we find baluster shafts in abundance, quantities of Roman tiles, and other features usually considered Saxon, but there is not the slightest doubt that the church was built from the foundations after 1077, when the work was commenced by Abbot Paul of Caen. The materials of an older church are used in it; they were probably brought from old Verulam, with the Roman bricks, which are largely used in the construction.

The church of Wotton-Wawen, Warwickshire, is of the Anglo-Saxon style: a cell to the Benedictine abbey of Conches, in Normandy, was founded here about 1080, by Robert de Tonei, standard-bearer to the Conqueror.

The church of Daglingworth, Gloucestershire, has nearly all the Saxon characteristics, excepting that the masonry and workmanship are better than any early Norman work, and it cannot, in fact, have been built before the time of Henry I.



24. Respond, from Gundulph's Crypt at Rochester, A.D. 1080.

[e] The present *castle* at Rochester is of a century later than the time of Gundulph. It was rebuilt under Henry II.

It is customary to date the introduction of the Norman style into England from the Norman Conquest, in 1066, although that important event had no *immediate* effect on the style of Architecture, and perhaps the remainder of the eleventh century may be considered as a period of transition, just as the last quarter of each of the three following centuries was a period of transition from one style to another; and it may be well to observe, that in all such periods, not only were buildings of a mixed character erected, but some buildings were almost entirely in the old style, others altogether in the new one: this has been called by Professor Willis "an overlapping of the styles," and generally lasts from twenty to thirty years. In treating of the Norman period we must bear in mind that Normandy was then a province of the same kingdom, and that the intercourse between Kent and Normandy was at least as frequent and as easy as between Yorkshire and Devonshire; so that although there are certain marked provincialisms, there is no real difference or priority of style in one province over the other, after the Norman power was fully established in England. It is customary to point to the two great abbey churches at Caen, founded and endowed by William and Matilda, as models to be referred to, and as proving the great advance of Normandy over England; but this is, in a great degree, a mistake, arising from the common error of confusing the date of the foundation of a monastery with that of the erection of the existing church: a small part only of the church of St. Stephen at Caen is of the time of the Conqueror, and a still smaller part of that of the Holy Trinity, the present building of

which is considerably later than the other. In both of these fine churches, the vaults, and the upper parts of the structure, are of the twelfth century.

In the church of St. Stephen there is work in the Norman style of three distinct periods. The first, *c.* 1060, is almost entirely concealed by the later additions and alterations, and can only be seen by diligent search; it is wide-jointed, and these wide joints of mortar are finished with care, project and overlap the stones slightly, even in parts where they never could have been intended to be seen, thus shewing the custom of the age when it was built. It agrees exactly with the work of the time of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. All those parts of the church, which are readily visible, and are usually known by engravings, belong to the second and third periods, although a large part of the fabric actually belongs to the first. The aisles have been originally covered by wooden roofs only, and the triforium gallery separated from the aisles below by a wooden floor. At the second period, *c.* 1090, *the aisles* were vaulted with simple groined vaults without ribs: to this period also belong the lower part of the two western towers and the present west front, which are built up against the original west front, still existing behind them, separated by a straight joint quite through the whole building: each of the present towers consisting, in fact, of three sides only, the fourth being a part of the original west front. The work of the second period is of fine-jointed masonry, but very plain and early looking.

At the third period, *c.* 1160, the large vault over the central space was introduced, cutting across the old clerestory windows, the heads of which appear above the vault; at this period also the whole of the ornamentation of the interior was changed, the inner surface of the wall being faced with a thin coat of fresh ashlar, as may be distinctly seen in the clerestory gallery. The triforium arcade is also quite different from that of the second period, as is seen by comparing it with the one bay of that work which exists in each of the western towers. The cause of the great vault being sexpartite, and the clerestory windows so irregular, probably is, that each alternate pier of the original work was much more massive than the intermediate ones, in order to carry transverse arches across the nave to

support the heavy timbers of the early roof, as in several of the basilicas at Rome, in the church of Cérisy, near Bayeux, founded by the father of the Conqueror, and in many buildings of later date, such as the halls at Conway and Carnarvon, in North Wales, and at Mayfield, in Sussex. At the *Abbaie aux dames*, or church of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, there is work corresponding to that of the second and third periods at the *Abbaie aux hommes*, or St. Stephen's, but none that is visible belonging to the first period; the masonry is all fine-jointed, and the ornaments agree with the later parts of St. Stephen's. This church was originally consecrated in the same year that it was founded, which makes it probable that the original structure was of wood only.

The church of St. Nicholas at Caen is usually cited as an example of very early Norman work, but its history is very doubtful, and the work does not agree with other early work in the same town: it is probably not earlier than 1100.

That portion of St. Stephen's which really belongs to this time agrees exactly with the work of the early Norman bishops in England, and we find the same throughout the Norman period. The abbey church at Cluny was the model most extensively followed in the monastic churches, both here and in Normandy, for a considerable period. Unfortunately, this model church has been almost destroyed.

The abbey church at Jumièges deserves to be particularly noticed, as it is a most interesting ruin, and was consecrated the year after the Conquest; it is of extremely plain and early Norman character, and the capitals are ornamented with painted foliage of late Norman character; but there are rude volutes under the plaster of the original early Norman style[f].

The most important buildings of the time of the Conqueror and of William Rufus were the Norman castles or keep-towers, but most of these were rebuilt in the following century. The earliest Norman keep existing is the one built immediately after the Conquest, by

[f] See Jumièges, in Part II. of this Introduction; see also *ante*, chapter ii. p. 26.

Gundulph, at Malling in Kent, miscalled St. Leonard's tower (see No. 19). There are still some Norman keeps of this period remaining, as London; but Dover

25. Norman Keep, Newcastle-on-Tyne, *founded* A.D. 1080. The battlement is not original.

and Rochester in Kent, Newcastle in Northumberland, Appleby and Carlisle in Cumberland, Brougham in Westmoreland, Richmond and Conisborough in York-

shire, Porchester in Hampshire, Guildford in Surrey, Goodrich in Herefordshire, Norwich and Castle Rising in Norfolk, Hedingham and Colchester in Essex, are later, and belong chiefly to the twelfth century; but most of them, if not all, were *founded* at this early period. Rochester has been entirely rebuilt on another site. From the uniformity of plan—a massive square tower, with a square turret at each angle of small projection, and a flat buttress up the centre of each face—and the general plainness of the work, it requires a careful examination of each of these buildings to ascertain to which period it belongs. The only parts where any ornament is to be found are usually the

26. Chapel in the White Tower, London, A.D. 1081. Early Norman Arch and Window.

entrance-doorway and staircase, and the chapel, and these are commonly rather late Norman. There is frequently a solid wall in the middle, dividing the keep into two portions, with no communicatiou in the lower parts. The passages for communication between one part of the building and another are made in the thickness of the walls[g], the central part having been divided by floors only, and not vaulted, in the earlier examples. Groined stone vaults, of rough stone, were introduced towards the end of the eleventh century in castles as well as in churches; but rib-vaulting of cut stone not before the twelfth.

The number of churches which were commenced in the reign of the Conqueror and his successor was so great, that it is impossible to notice them all: but few of them were completed until after 1100; it was not, indeed, until after 1080 that the country was sufficiently settled for much building to be begun.

The chapel in the White Tower, London (see **20**, **26**), is one of the best and most perfect examples of this period; its character is massive and plain, though the work is well executed. Its plan is oblong, consisting of a nave with narrow aisles which stand on the thickness of the walls: the walls have passages in them also in the other parts; the nave has plain barrel-vaults; the pillars are short and thick, and most of the capitals

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[g] These thick massive walls are in fact double walls with the interval filled with rubble concrete, and passages left in them. The inner wall usually carries the vault, the outer wall and buttresses serve to support it, and to resist the side thrust of the vault and cross-arches. The walls of the fortifications of Rome of the time of the Emperors of the third and fourth centuries, and other walls of earlier date, have passages in them, and a double facing, or outer and inner wall, often faced with very fine brickwork, but with the mass of concrete or rubble between them. The Normans appear to have taken the idea of their double walls from these.

are plain, but some have a little ornament carved upon the abacus and capital, apparently some time after the construction was completed, being within easy reach.

The nave and transepts of Ely were erected by Abbot Simeon, brother of Bishop Walkelyn. Part of the west front of Lincoln was built by Bishop Remi (Remigius, or of Reims), between the years 1085 and 1092: the small portion which remains of this work is a very valuable specimen of early Norman, the more so that the insertion of later and richer Norman doorways by Bishop Alexander, about fifty years afterwards, enables us to compare early and late Norman work, while the jointing of the masonry leaves no doubt of the fact that these doorways are insertions, and therefore confirms the early date of the three lofty arches under which they are inserted. A comparison of the capitals and details of these two periods, thus placed in juxtaposition, is extremely interesting[h]. The wide-jointing of the masonry and the shallowness of the carving distinguish the old work from the new. Several capitals of the later period are inserted in the older work, as is shewn on careful examination by the jointing of the masonry, and by the form of the capitals themselves: the earlier capitals are short, and have volutes at the angles, forming a sort of rude Ionic; the later capitals are more elongated, and have a sort of rude Corinthian, or Composite foliage.

The crypt and transepts of Winchester Cathedral are of this period, built by Bishop Walkelyn on a new site.

In the time of William Rufus the work so well begun by the Norman bishops was carried on so vigorously, that, before the close of this century, *every one* of the Saxon cathedrals was undergoing the same process of destruction to be rebuilt on a larger scale and in a better manner. The portions which remain to us of the work of this reign are the crypt of Worcester; the crypt, the arches of the nave, and part of the transepts of Gloucester; the choir and transepts of Durham;

[h] An engraving of this front may be seen in the *Vetusta Monumenta.*

the nave and transepts of Christchurch in Hampshire; the choir and transepts of Norwich.

The history of Canterbury Cathedral has been so carefully preserved by contemporary records, and these have been so thoroughly investigated by Professor Willis, and compared with the existing structure, that we may almost put a date upon every stone of this magnificent fabric; it is therefore our best and safest guide in the study of the architecture of that period in England. The work in the older part of the crypt agrees exactly with that at Lincoln, and the other early Norman works above mentioned. The crypt is, however, not part of Lanfranc's work, for it is remarkable that his church was entirely pulled down and rebuilt by his successor, St. Anselm, between 1096 and 1110, under the direction of Priors Ernulf and Conrad. Even in the time of Gervase, writing in 1170, he says, "You must know, however, good reader, that I never saw the choir of Lanfranc, neither have I been able to meet with any description of it: Eadmer indeed describes the old church, which before the time of Lanfranc was constructed after the Roman manner; he also mentions, but does not describe, the work of Lanfranc, which succeeded this old church, and the choir of Conrad, constructed in the time of St. Anselm." From this we may fairly conclude that the work of Lanfranc was of very inferior character.

During the first fifteen or twenty years of the twelfth century, and of the reign of Henry I., there was no perceptible change of style; the numerous great works which had been begun during the preceding twenty years were carried on, and many of them were completed. During this period we have accounts of the dedications,—which shew that the work was sufficiently forward for the choir to be used,—of Ely, Rochester, Winchester, Hereford, St. Alban's, Gloucester, Durham, Norwich, Canterbury, and some others. Several new works were commenced also, as Tewkesbury Abbey, St. Botolph's, Colchester, St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, the nave of Durham, the choir of Peterborough,

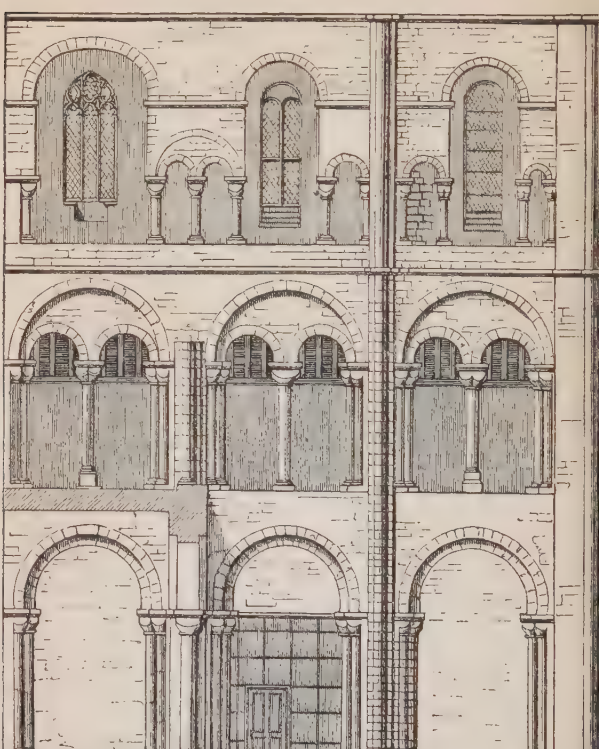
and Reading Abbey: but we do not find any difference between the early parts of these and those which immediately preceded them. It may also be observed that there is no difference whatever between those which were built on the sites of the Saxon cathedrals, and those which were now first erected on entirely new sites.

27. Interior of N. Transept, Winchester, A.D. 1079—1093.

Shewing a plain square-edged semicircular arch, a groined vault without ribs, shafts with cushion capitals, and an ornamental arcade.

Early in the twelfth century occurred the fall of the tower of Winchester Cathedral, celebrated from the peculiar circumstances with which it was accompanied, which are thus described by William of Malmesbury, who was living at the time:—"A few countrymen conveyed the body [of the king, William Rufus], placed on a cart, to the cathedral of Winchester, the blood dripping from it all the way. Here it was committed to the ground *within the tower*, attended by many of the nobility, but lamented by few. The next year the tower fell; though I forbear to mention the different opinions on this subject, lest I should seem to assent too readily to unsupported trifles; more

especially that the building might have fallen *through imperfect construction*, even though he had never been buried there." That this was really the case, the building itself affords us abundant evidence, and proves that even the Normans at this



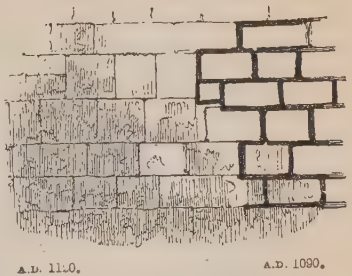
28. Transept, Winchester Cathedral, A.D. 1079—1093.

A. Pier-arches.
B. Triforium, or Blind-story.
C. Clearstory, or Clerestory.

N.B. It may be noted that the pier-arches, triforium and clerestory, are all nearly of equal height which is frequent in the Norman style, but n afterwards.

period were still bad masons, and very imperfectly acquainted with the principles of construction. The tower which was rebuilt soon after the fall is still standing, and the enormous masses of masonry which were piled together to support it, and prevent it from falling again, shew such an amazing waste of labour and material as clearly to prove that it was the work of very unskilful builders[1].

This example (**27, 28, 29**) is valuable to us also in another respect: the two transepts were only partially injured by the fall of the tower; the greater part of both of them belongs to the original work; the junction of the old work and the new can be distinctly traced; and here we begin to find a difference of character in the new work, and a mark by which we can readily distinguish one from the other: the joints between the stones in the old work are wide, filled with a great thickness of mortar; in the new work they are comparatively fine, often leaving room for scarcely more than to pass a knife: the one is called "wide-jointed masonry," the other "fine-jointed masonry," and this is the best and safest distinction between early and late Norman work or generally between the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the rule is almost of universal application. In confirmation of this we may cite another passage from William of



29. Winchester Cathedral, Transept.

[1] See Wilh. Malm., vol. ii. p. 510, edit. Hardy.

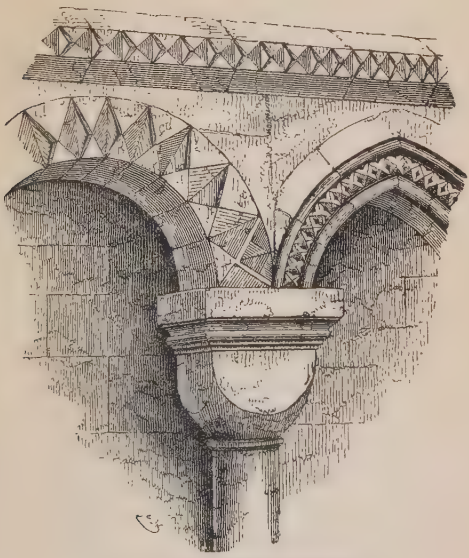
Malmesbury, describing the work of his own time, and what he had probably seen himself:—"He [Roger, Bishop of Salisbury] was a prelate of great mind, and spared no expense towards completing his designs, especially in buildings; which may be seen in other places, but more particularly at Salisbury and at Malmesbury, for there he erected extensive edifices at vast cost, and with surpassing beauty, *the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joint deceives the eye, and leads it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block.*" The buildings here alluded to were erected between 1115 and 1139[k], this may then fairly be considered as the turning-point between early and late Norman work; and here it will be convenient to pause in our history, and describe the characteristic features of early Norman work. It will be desirable, in the first place, again to call in the evidence of an eye-witness to the change, and this we are fortunately able to do. Gervase the monk, in his description of the reconstruction of Canterbury Cathedral after the great fire, draws this contrast between the old and the new work:—

"It has been stated that after the fire nearly all the old portions of the choir were destroyed, and changed into somewhat new and of a more noble fashion; the difference between the two works may now be enumerated. The pillars of the old and new work are alike in form and thickness, but different in length: for the new pillars were elongated by almost twelve feet. In the *old capitals the work was plain, in the new ones exquisite in sculpture.* There the circuit of the choir had

[k] Wilhelm. Malmesb., vol. ii. p. 637, edit. Hardy. Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, is one of the well-authenticated buildings of Bishop Roger, of which there are considerable ruins; the masonry is fine-jointed.

twenty-two pillars, here are twenty-eight. There the arches and everything else was plain, *or sculptured with an axe and not with a chisel* (30); but here, almost throughout, is appropriate sculpture. No marble columns were there, but here are innumerable ones. There in the circuit around the choir the vaults were plain, but here they are arch-ribbed, and have key-stones. There a wall set upon pillars divided the crosses [transepts] from the choir, but here the crosses are separated from

A.D. 1110. *The axe.*



A.D. 1180. *The chisel.*

30. Part of Arcade, Canterbury.
Shewing the junction of the old and new work.

the choir by no such partition, and converge together in one key-stone, which is placed in the middle of the great vault, which rests upon the four principal pillars. There, there was a ceiling of wood decorated with excellent painting, but here is a vault beautifully constructed of stone and light tufa. There was a single triforium, but here are two in the choir, and a third

in the aisle of the church. All which will be better understood by inspection than by any description."

It will at once be seen that although this is a description of a particular building, a great deal of it is of general application. It is not probable that, if the workmen employed on the early Norman buildings were accustomed to the free use of the chisel, they would have used the axe only in so important a work as the glorious choir of Prior Conrad, who completed St. Anselm's work. Accordingly, we find in early Norman work that the chisel was very little used; most of the ornaments are such as can be readily worked with the axe, and whatever sculpture there is appears to have been executed afterwards, for it was a general practice to execute sculpture after the stones were placed, as is evident in the early work at Westminster: some of the capitals in the crypt of Canterbury are only half finished to this day (31), the work of carving having probably gone on until it was stopped by the great fire. If the sculpture is early it is very rude, and

31. Crypt, Canterbury, A.D. 1110. Norman capital, with carving commenced and left unfinished.

the work is shallow. But shallowness of carving depends partly on the nature of the material to be carved; from this cause buildings of a hard stone, such as granite, often appear much older than they really are. Baptismal fonts especially are frequently made of hard stone or marble, which admit of shallow sculpture; and rich Norman work cut shallow may be found as late as the time of Henry II.[1]

Although the roofs of the aisles at Canterbury had been vaulted, the choir itself had a flat boarded ceiling, painted like that still remaining at Peterborough. The vault of the choir of the cathedral of Sens is also an addition of later date than that of Canterbury. The same change was made in many other churches of that period. The builders of the early Norman period did not venture to erect a vault over so large a space; we do not find any early vault over a space above twenty feet wide, and few of so wide a span. Many of our Norman cathedrals still have timber roofs over the large spaces, and the aisles vaulted. In Normandy vaults were more frequently used than in England, even at this early period; and this was still more the case in subsequent times, for the fine open timber roofs for which some parts of England are distinguished are unknown in Normandy, where almost every village church is vaulted over.

[1] There is reason to believe that the celebrated fonts of rich shallow sculpture at East Meon, Winchester Cathedral, St. Michael's Southampton, and some others, in England, and in France in the diocese of Laon, are as late as A.D. 1180, although looking much earlier, and long supposed to have been of the Saxon period. There is also reason to believe that they were imported from Flanders, where the material is found of which they are all made, a sort of black marble. One of them is dated by an inscription upon it, and they are all of the same character of sculpture.

Here it may be well to mention, that down to the early Norman period the eastern limb of a cruciform church, or the chancel of a plain oblong plan, was always short, rarely more than a single square, or at the utmost two squares, in length, and was frequently terminated by a round east end called an apse. Immediately after this period the custom of lengthening the eastern limb of the church became so general that the original dimensions have been almost lost sight of. The history of nearly every one of our cathedrals gives the same result: first, the choir was lengthened by the addition of a presbytery, and afterwards still further by adding a lady-chapel, which did not come into fashion until quite the end of the twelfth century[m].

In parish churches the same custom was imitated as far as means would allow; but in many instances the ground-plans of these have never been altered. Cassington, in Oxfordshire, has an original Norman vaulted chancel, just one square bay eastward of the tower; at Iffley a second bay has been added at a subsequent period, but the original termination may be distinctly traced; at Stewkley the original plan has been preserved.

Gervase and William of Malmesbury have furnished us, as we have seen, with a clue by which to distinguish the work of the early Norman period from that of a later age, namely, wide-jointed masonry[n], and shallow sculpture executed chiefly with the axe

[m] In large buildings, the west front, with the belfry towers, was commonly built next after the choir, the nave being often left till long afterwards.

[n] See examples at the White Tower (20), and Winchester (29).

instead of the chisel. The best and safest test is the wide-jointed masonry, where it is found; but in some cases the joints can hardly be said to be either wide or fine; they are of a moderate width, and not of marked character either way.

Thus early Norman work may generally be distinguished by being much plainer than late, but as plain work is not always early, a few other characteristic features may be mentioned. The *arch* is generally at first not recessed at all, afterwards only once recessed, and the edges are either square, or have a plain round moulding cut upon them; the zigzag *ornament* is used, but not so abundantly as at a later period; the dripstone is frequently ornamented with what is called the hatched moulding; the billet is also used, but sparingly, and perhaps not before 1100; it is found in the early parts of Peterborough, but not in the later parts. The head of the door is generally square with a round arch over it, and the intermediate space under the arch, called the tympanum, is either left plain, or ornamented with shallow sculpture of rude character.

The windows are generally plain, small, round-headed, and single lights, except the belfry windows; small circular openings are also a common feature, as in the clerestory[o] of Southwell Minster. Some of the other distinctions between early and late Norman work will be more conveniently pointed out under the respective heads of Doorways, Windows, Arches, &c.

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[o] As the French antiquaries have adopted Rickman's term of *clerestorie*, from the old mode of spelling the word *clear-story* to distinguish it from the *blind-story*, now called the *triforium*, it is perhaps better for us also to retain the old mode of spelling in England.

Early Norman buildings were generally low, and the walls have frequently been raised in the later Norman period, as at Canterbury, where, as we have seen, the side walls were raised about twelve feet.

We have now arrived at the period of those RICH NORMAN CHURCHES which may still be considered as amongst the glories of our land.

It is very remarkable that so large a number of buildings of the rich character which generally distinguishes this style should all have been built in about half a century, from 1120 to 1170 or 1180; yet such is clearly the case. The early Norman style has been already described; the late or rich Norman is chiefly characterized by the abundance of ornament and the deep cutting, the absence of which is the chief characteristic of the earlier period.

Before we proceed to describe it, a few of the buildings known to have been erected at this time may be mentioned.

Peterborough Cathedral was begun from its foundations in 1117 by John de Seez, who formed the plan of the whole of it, which was rigidly carried out by his successors, and it was consecrated in 1143; the work is very good, but not very rich. The Norman tower at Bury St. Edmund's was commenced in the same year, 1117, and finished in 1130; the porch is an addition about half a century later. The nave of Norwich was built between 1122 and 1145; the work is still very plain, being in continuation of the previous work. Castor Church, Northamptonshire, bears an inscription recording its dedication in 1124: the tower is good, rich Norman work; the ornaments are the hatched, the square billet, and the scollop, all of very simple character, shallow, and easily worked. Furness Abbey was founded in 1127, but very little of the original work remains. In Canterbury Cathedral, the work of Prior Ernulf, under St. Anselm, was completed in 1130, and part of Rochester,

where Ernulf had become bishop, in the same year; so that we need not be surprised at finding more ornament in these two cathedrals than is quite consistent with the usual character of early Norman work, and the same ornaments repeated in both these churches (32). St. Martin's Priory at Dover was founded in 1131; the refectory is still standing, and is a good example of plain Norman work, neither very early nor very late.

32. Arcade of Ernulf at Canterbury, A.D. 1110.

The same occurs at Rochester, A.D. 1120.
The two capitals were probably carved afterwards.

The Augustinian priory of Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, was also founded in 1131; the original parts of the west front and of the nave are remarkably fine and rich Norman work.

The Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, was also founded in 1131, by Walter Espee; the original work is Norman, with pointed arches; we have not the date of dedication, but the privileges granted by the Pope in 1160 would shew that the buildings were then completed. Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, also of this Order, was founded in 1132, by Thurston, Archbishop of York; and buildings of the monastery, including half of the oratory, or chapel, were burnt in 1140. The remains of this great abbey are extensive, and include not only the church,

but considerable parts of the domestic buildings also; parts of them are pure Norman, other parts are of transitional and later character. The church was re-founded in 1204, but part of the nave certainly belongs to the original structure. The offices are mentioned as building in 1139[p], at the expense of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and are pure Norman work. The eastern part of the church, in which were nine altars, in imitation of Durham, belongs to the thirteenth century.

St. Bartholomew's Church in Smithfield was the church of the Augustinian priory founded in 1123 by Rahere, the king's jester or minstrel, and he obtained a charter from the king in 1133, by which time it is probable that the buildings were in an advanced state. It has been mentioned that three Greek travellers of noble family were present at the foundation, and foretold the future importance of the church[q]. They were probably merchants from Byzantium, and it has been conjectured that they were consulted by the founder respecting the plan and architectural character of the church. The aisle round the apse remains in a very genuine state[r], and agrees with this period; it is of rather early Norman character, with transverse arches, which are of the horse-shoe form. The upper part of the choir is of later date than this aisle; the central tower is not square, and the arches are transitional, two being round and two pointed, with mouldings and details of much later character than those of the aisle; the nave has been destroyed, except one bay, and the vaults of the aisles have parts of modern houses built upon them.

In the same year, 1133, Porchester Church, Hampshire (**70**), was founded; the west front is a good example of the usual character of this period. Buildwas Abbey, in Shropshire, was founded in 1135; it is fine and rich Norman work. In the same year Castle Acre Priory Church, in Norfolk, was commenced; it is one of the best specimens of rich Norman work, and was completed in 1148. St. Cross Church, near Winchester, was founded in 1136; much of the early part is very plain, part of it is transitional, but the work appears to have been suspended for several years, probably for want of funds. In 1148, St. Au-

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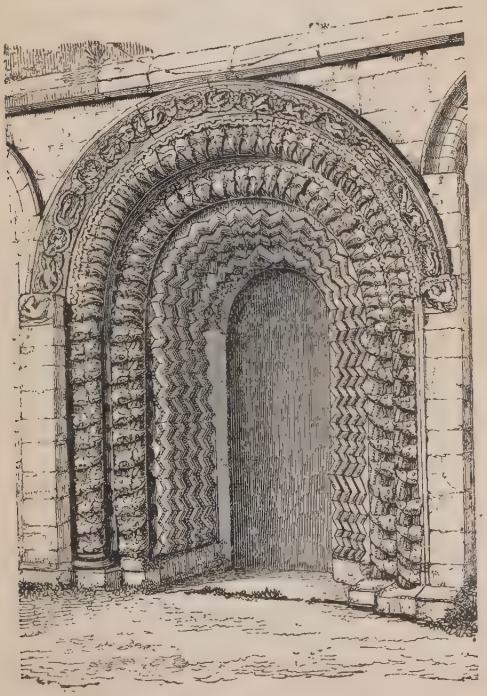
[p] Mon. Ang., vol. v. p. 299.

[q] Ibid., vol. vi. p. 294.

[r] This has, unfortunately, now been *restored*, and can no longer be depended on.

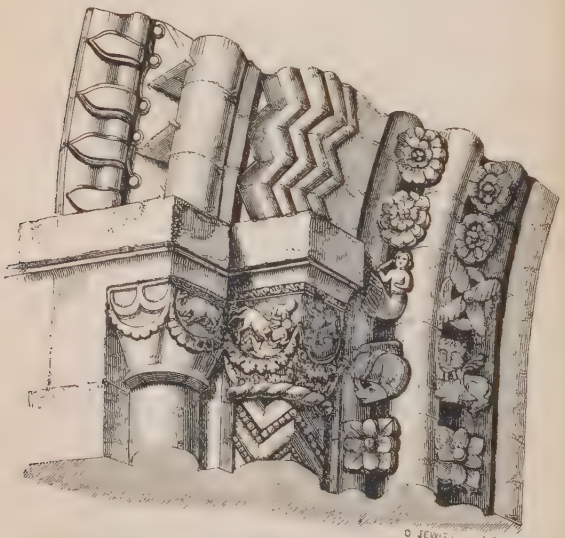
gustine's Priory, Bristol, was founded; the gateway and the chapter-house are fine examples of late, rich Norman work. Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, was removed to its present site in 1152, and the church finished in 1182; part of the work is good Norman, and the later part transitional. Bayeux Cathedral, in Normandy, was partly rebuilt between 1160 and 1170; the arches of the nave, of this period, are of late and rich Norman work.

The Rich Doorways form one of the most important features of late Norman work; they are generally



33. West Doorway, Iffley Church, Oxfordshire, c. 1160.

round-headed, very deeply recessed, and frequently have shafts in the jambs. The tympanum is frequently filled with rich sculpture, which becomes deeper and better executed as the style advances. The mouldings are numerous, but not of much variety in section, consisting chiefly of round and quarter-round members, but all preserving a general square outline. These mouldings, however, as well as the jambs and shafts, are frequently entirely overlaid with ornament, which,

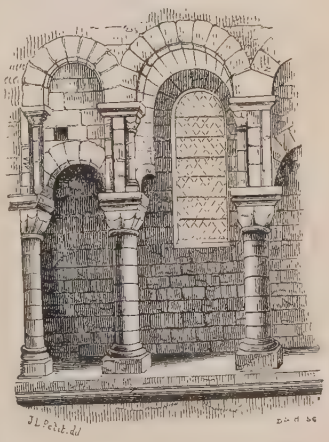


34. Part of South Doorway, Iffley Church, Oxon, c. 1160.
Shewing rich Norman Ornament.

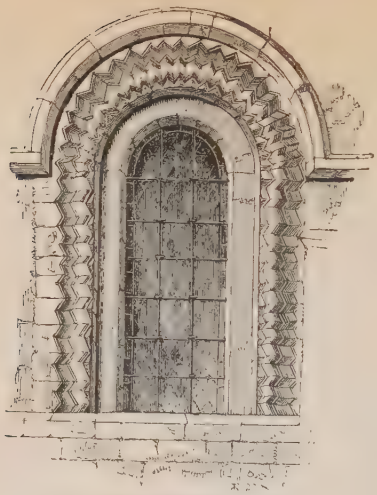
though of a peculiar and somewhat rude character, produces great richness of effect; and few features

of churches are more generally admired than these rich Norman doorways.

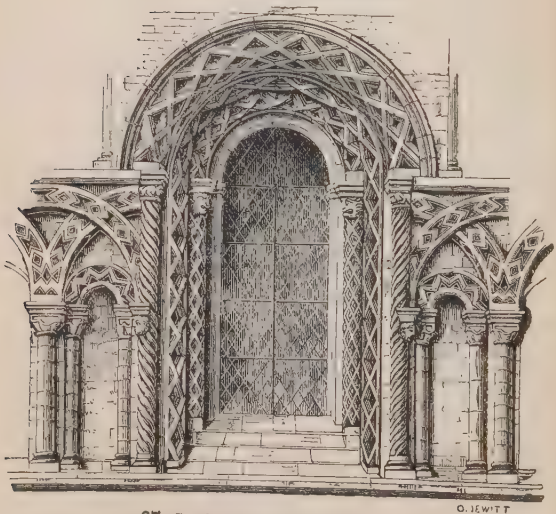
THE WINDOWS are in general long and rather narrow round-headed openings, but sometimes of two lights divided by a shaft, included under one arch, more especially in belfries; in rich buildings they are frequently ornamented in the same manner as the doorways, with recessed arches, zig-zag and other mouldings, as at Iffley, Oxfordshire (**36**), and sometimes with sculpture; other examples have shafts in the jambs carrying the arch-mouldings, and others are quite plain. At Castle Rising, Norfolk, is a very rich late example, with intersecting arcades on each side, ornamented chiefly with the lozenge moulding (**37**). In Romsey Abbey, Hampshire (**35**), Waltham Abbey, Essex, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and very many other examples, the clerestory window has a smaller blind arch on each side of it, making a triple opening within to a single window; and the shafts of this triple opening are made to carry small shafts to the upper arches. This is a common arrangement of Norman



35. Romsey Abbey, Hants, c. 1180.



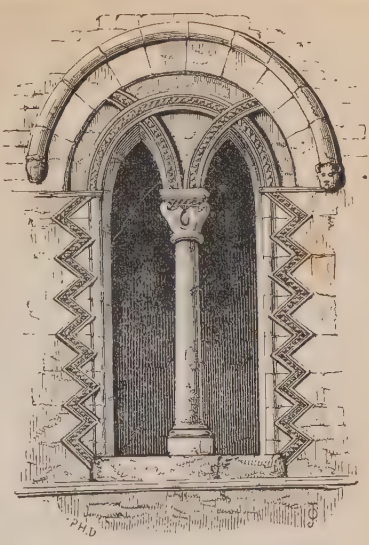
36. Iffley, Oxfordshire, c. 1160.



37. Castle Rising, Norfolk, c. 1160.

clerestory windows: at St. Stephen's, Caen, there is only one sub-arch to each light instead of two, but this arises from the arrangement of the sexpartite vaulting.

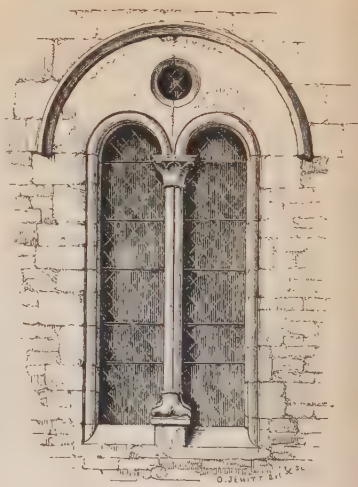
At Sutton Courtney, Berkshire (**38**), is a rare example of the mouldings being carried through, like part of an intersecting arcade. At St. Maurice's, York (**39**), is a two-light window, with a small round opening in the head, the earliest germ of tracery; the character of the shaft, with its capital and base, shews this to be very late Norman. These two last examples are interesting, as shewing some of the early steps towards tracery. The fine circular windows with wheel-like divisions belong to this period: Barfreston, in Kent, is a good example. There was frequently one in the centre of the west front, which was called the oculus, or eye of the building. These large round windows are much more common on the Continent than in England. In Italy there are many fine examples, as at Toscanella, Perugia, and Assisi. The



38. Sutton Courtney, Berkshire, c. 1170.

French also appear to have always had a particular fondness for this kind of window, which in the later styles becomes the magnificent rose-window, so often the glory of the French churches.

Norman windows are far less common than the doorways, having frequently been destroyed to make room for those of later styles; probably for the purpose of introducing the painted glass of those periods, which did not suit well with the early windows.



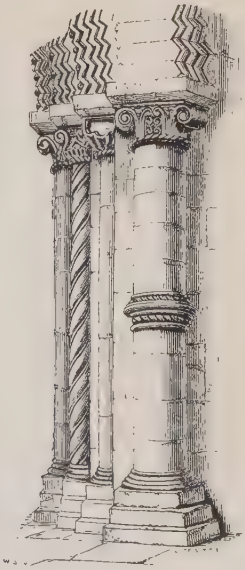
39. St. Maurice's, York, c. 1180.
Late Norman Window, with small circular opening in the head.

The Piers in the earlier period are either square solid masses of masonry, or recessed at the angles (**40**), in the same manner as the arches, or they are plain round massive pillars, with frequently only an impost of very simple character, but often with capitals. The round pillars are sometimes ornamented with a kind of fluting, as in the crypt at Canterbury, sometimes with a rude and shallow zig-zag pattern, as at Waltham Abbey, Durham, and Lindisfarne (**42**).

In the later period the pillars are in general not

so massive as in the early part of the style, and are frequently ornamented with small shafts; and these as well as the pillars are sometimes banded, as at St. Peter's, Northampton (**41**).

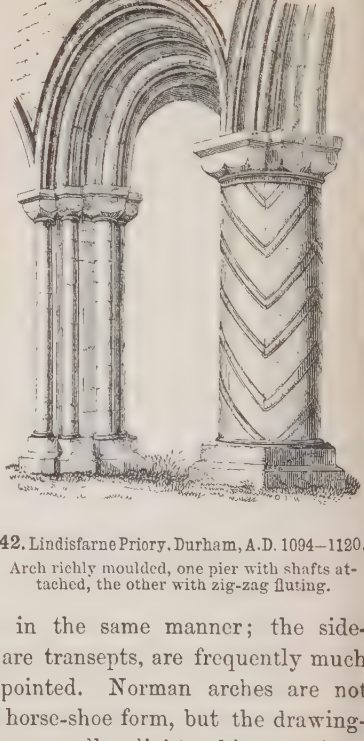
40. St. Alban's Abbey, A.D. 1080.
Early Norman Pier, recessed and square-edged.



41. St. Peter's, Northampton, c. 1160.
Late Norman Pier, with twisted and banded shafts attached.

THE ARCHES are generally round-headed: in early work they are plain and square-edged, with or without a recess at the angle; sometimes doubly recessed, and still square-edged, as in the early work at Westminster (**18**), the White Tower, London (**26**), and the transept

of Winchester (**27**); sometimes moulded, with plain round mouldings. In the later period they are more richly moulded than in the early part of the style (**42**): the chancel-arch especially is very much enriched; and the western side, facing the spectator when looking towards the altar, is generally much more ornamented than the eastern side. The chancel-arch at Iffley is one of the richest and best examples: where there is a central tower, as in that instance, both the tower-arches across the church are usually ornamented in the same manner; the side-arches, where there are transepts, are frequently much plainer, and often pointed. Norman arches are not unfrequently of the horse-shoe form, but the drawing-in at the imposts is generally slight; this sometimes may arise from a settlement in the foundations only, but arches and vaults are often evidently so built.



42. Lindisfarne Priory, Durham, A.D. 1094—1120. Arch richly moulded, one pier with shafts attached, the other with zig-zag fluting.

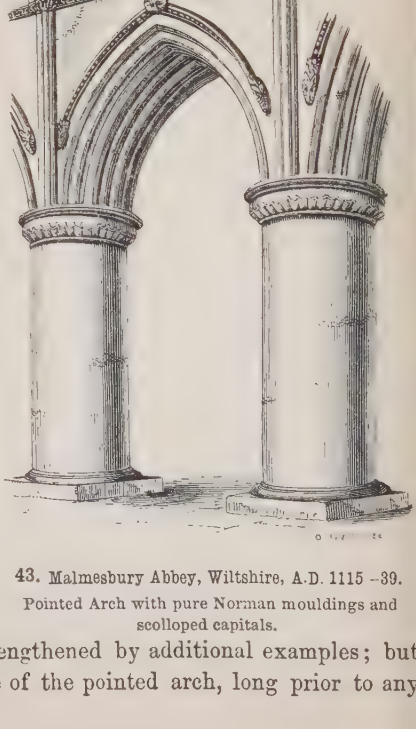
In the apse in the White Tower the arches are

stilted to accommodate them to their position. The arches of the triforium are generally wide and low; sometimes they are divided by two sub-arches.

The form of the arch was at all periods dictated partly by convenience, and is not to be relied on as a guide to the date or style; but there was a prevailing fashion, and that form was usually followed at each period, unless there was some reason for changing it, which is generally obvious if we look for it. To judge of the age of any building we must look at the general character of the work, and not seize upon some particular feature to ground any rule upon. The mouldings are generally the safest guide, but even these sometimes require to be qualified by comparison with other parts.

The small Arcades which are frequently used as decorations of the walls, and for sedilia, have scarcely any separate character; they are diminutives of the larger arches, except that the shafts are smaller and shorter in proportion: in rich work they are used both inside and outside of the walls, and frequently on the outside of the clerestory, as well as on the inside in front of the blind-story, now called the triforium. Intersecting arches occur in these arcades from a very early period; and Rickman observes, that whoever constructed them, constructed pointed arches; and he adds, "It appears as if the round and pointed arches were for nearly a century used indiscriminately, as was most consonant to the necessities of the work, or the builder's ideas." At Canterbury, an orna-

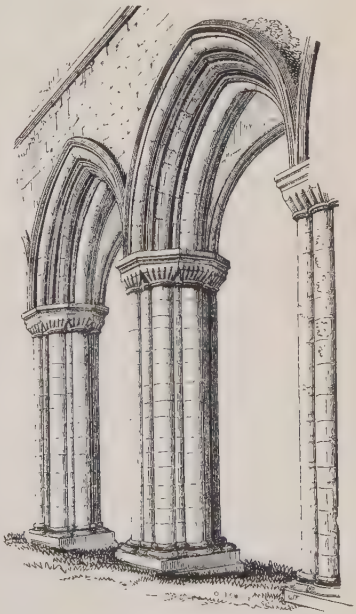
mental arcade of intersecting arches (**29**) occurs both on the inside and outside of the wall in St. Anselm's tower. The work is frequently quite as massive, and in all other respects of as early character, with the pointed arch as with the round one; they occur in Malmesbury Abbey Church (**43**), apparently in the work of Roger bishop of Salisbury A.D. 1115—1139, without any other apparent difference of character from the rest of the work. The pointed arch, taken by itself, is therefore no proof of the change of style, nor even of late work.



43. Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, A.D. 1115–39. Pointed Arch with pure Norman mouldings and scolloped capitals.

The observation of so careful and accurate an observer as Rickman scarcely requires, perhaps, to be strengthened by additional examples; but as the early use of the pointed arch, long prior to any

change of style, has not been generally observed, it may be useful to mention a few more instances. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which is chiefly the work of the Crusaders, soon after 1100, has pointed arches in that part of it which they built[r]. St. Cross Church, near Winchester, founded by Henry de Blois in 1136, has pointed arches; and the triforium has intersecting arcades, with the intervals left open as windows. To these may be added, Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, founded in 1132: pointed arches occur in the early part of the work, which is of pure Norman character, and appears to have been built before the fire in 1140;—and Kirkstall Abbey (**44**), built between 1152 and 1182: here the work is of later character, but still pure Norman. All these are previous to the period of transition, and have not transitional mouldings.



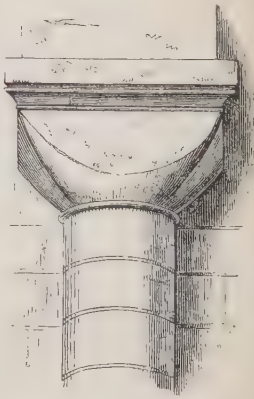
44. Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, 1152—1160.

[r] See Professor Willis's History of the very curious and interesting church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. 8vo., Lond. 1849.

Mr. Gally Knight and the Duke of Serradifalco published in 1843 some valuable engravings of the churches in Sicily, built by the Norman Count, afterwards King, Roger, between 1129 and 1140: these afford very curious examples of the mixture of Norman and Saracenic work, which is only to be found, and could only be found, in Sicily. The arches are pointed, and Mr. Gally Knight considered that this was the origin of the introduction of the pointed arch into northern Europe: and there is an apparent probability in the theory, on account of the frequent intercourse between the Normans in Sicily and their countrymen in Normandy and England. Some of the examples in England appear, however, to be of nearly as early date; and in the south of France the pointed arch was in common use before that time.

The churches in Palestine, built by the Crusaders during the continuance of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100—1187, have pointed arches, but no Gothic mouldings or ornaments; their character is entirely that of French work of the same period, and rather that of the south of France than the north[a]

The Capitals in early work are either plain cubical masses with the lower angles rounded off, forming a sort of rude cushion shape, as at Winchester (**45**), or they have a sort of rude volute, apparently in imitation of the Ionic, cut upon the angles; and in the centre of each face a plain square block in the form of the Tau cross is left projecting, as if to be afterwards carved: this remarkable feature is found in the

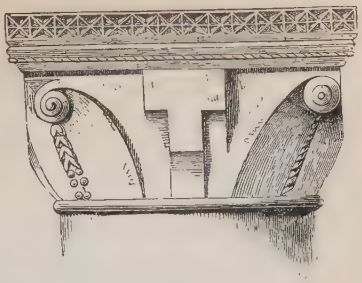


45. North Transept, Winchester, A.D. 1079—93.

The Cushion Capital.

[a] See the excellent work of Count Melchior de Vogué, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte;* 4to., Paris, 1860.

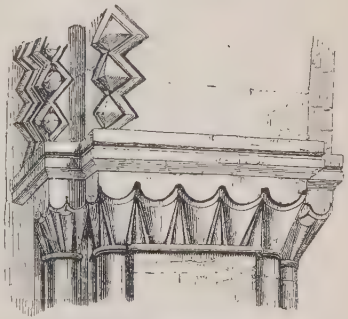
chapel of the White Tower, London (**46**), in the early part of the crypt at Canterbury, at St. Nicholas, Caen, and other early work, but it has never been observed in late work.



46. White Tower, London, A.D. 1081.
Early Capital with rude volutes and the Tau.

The scolloped capital belongs to rather a later period than the plain cushion or the rude Ionic, and does not occur before the time of Henry I.; as at Stourbridge (**47**), Malmesbury (**43**), and Kirkstall (**44**). This form of capital was perhaps the most common of all in the first half of the twelfth century, and continued in use to the end of the Norman style.

The capitals were frequently carved at a period subsequent to their erection, as in the crypt at Canterbury, where some of the capitals are finished, others half finished, with two sides blank, and others not carved at all (**30**). In the early work at West-



47. Stourbridge, Cambridgeshire, c. 1120.
Scolloped Capital.

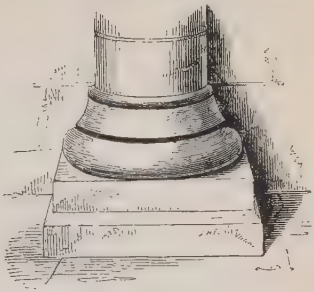
minster, before mentioned, this is equally evident. At Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, is the jamb of a Norman doorway with the pattern for the sculptor scratched upon it with the chisel, but never executed [t].

In later Norman work the capitals are frequently ornamented with foliage, animals, groups of figures, &c., in endless variety. The abacus throughout the style is the most characteristic member, and will frequently distinguish a Norman capital when other parts are doubtful. Its section is a square with the lower part chamfered off, either by a plain line or a slight curve; but as the style advanced it had other mouldings added (**48**), and the whole are frequently so overlaid with ornament that it is difficult to distinguish the section (or profile) of its mouldings.

48. Wootten, Gloucestershire. Late and rich Norman Capital.

[t] The terms "sculpture" or "carving" are not usually applied to the mouldings, which are said to have been "worked," and these appear to have been generally worked before they were placed; for instance, the archmoulds at Iffley, as in almost all cases of zig-zag mouldings, are not continuous; each stone appears to have been worked separately, and somewhat clumsily fitted together.

THE BASES are at first very simple, consisting merely of a quarter-round moulding; then of two quarter-rounds, or two and a chamfer; or else of a round, or a chamfer and a quarter-round (**49**): as the style advanced they became more enriched, and the number of members more numerous: the earlier examples resemble the Tuscan, the later appear to be imitated from the Attic base. They always follow the form of the shaft or pillar, and stand upon a square pedestal or plinth; the angles of this square plinth being frequently filled up with some ornament, called foot-ornaments, or base ornaments (**50**): these increase in richness and boldness as the style advances, and their use was continued for some time in the subsequent style.



49. North Transept, Winchester, A.D. 1079—93. Early Norman Base.

50. St Cross, Winchester, c. 1180. Late Norman Base and Foot-ornament.

THE NICHES, OR TABERNACLES, are small shallow recesses with round arches, frequently much enriched;

they are chiefly placed over the doorways, and generally retain the figures which they were constructed to receive. These figures being executed in low relief upon the surface of the stone, were less liable to injury than the figures of the later styles, which are carved on separate stones and inserted. The most usual figure is that of Christ (**51**), distinguished by the cruciform

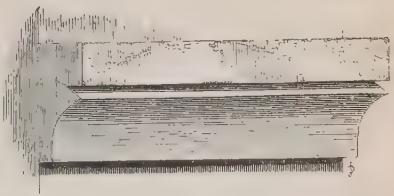
51. Leigh, Worcestershire, c. 1100.

Tabernacle with figure of Christ, under a moulded arch, with shafts having the cushion capital and the plain Norman abacus.

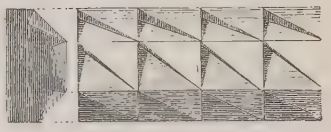
nimbus. The sculpture is at first very shallow, but becomes deeper as the style advances.

THE MOULDINGS have been already mentioned in describing the doorways, where they are most abun-

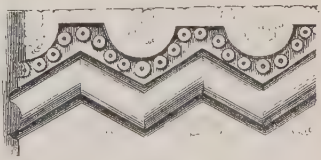
dantly used; they are, however, freely employed on all other arches, whether the pier-arches, or over windows, wall arcades, &c., and frequently also as horizontal strings or tablets. One of the most usual and characteristic Norman strings exactly resembles the abacus of the capital, or the impost of the pier, with a hollow chamfer under it (**52**); another is merely chamfered off above and below (**53**), forming a semi-hexagonal projection. Norman ornaments are of endless variety; the most common is the chevron, or zig-zag (**54**), and this is used more and more abundantly as the work gets later; it is found at all periods, even in Roman work of the third century, and probably earlier, but in all early work it is used sparingly, and the profusion with which it is used in late work is one of the most ready marks by



52. St. Alban's Abbey, Hertfordshire, c. 1080.
Norman Chamfer.

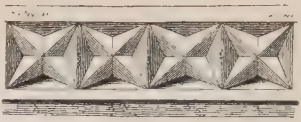


53. Westminster Hall, c. 1097.

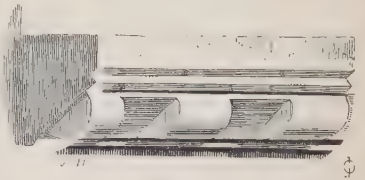


54. Andover, Hants., c. 1150.
Chevron, or zig-zag, with Beads.

which to distinguish that the work is late. The sunk star (**55**) is a very favourite ornament throughout the style; it occurs on the abacus of the capitals in the chapel of the White Tower, London, and at Herringfleet, Suffolk, and it seems to have been the forerunner of the tooth-ornament. The billet (**56**, **58**) is used in the early part of Peterborough, but discontinued in the later work, and does not often occur in late work. The beak-head, the cat's-head, the small medallions with figures, and the signs of the zodiac, all belong to the later Norman period. In the later Norman mouldings a mixture of Byzantine character is seen on the ornaments, as at Durham.



55. Herringfleet, Suffolk, c. 1100.
The Star.

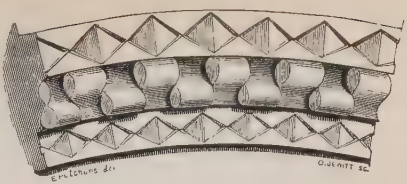


56. Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, c. 1130.
The Billet.

57. Durham Cathedral.
Abacus and String.

Sculptured ornament made great progress during the twelfth century. We have seen by the testimony of Gervase that the chisel was not used in the "glorious

choir of Conrad" at Canterbury, which was built between 1096 and 1130, and an examination of the old work proves the exactness of his statement; all the sculptured ornament on the old work is shallow, and such as could very well be executed with the axe, which is not a bad tool in the hands of a skilful workman, and is still commonly used in many parts of England and France. On comparing this early work at Canterbury with other early Norman buildings, it is plain that they all had their ornaments executed in the same manner: the chisel is only required for deep-cutting and especially under-cutting, and that we do not find on any buildings of ascertained date before 1120. The chisel was used for carving in stone in Italy and the south of France at an earlier period, but not in Normandy or the north of France much earlier than in England. After this usage was introduced, the workmen seem to have gloried in it, and revelled in it, and the profusion of rich Norman sculptured ornament in the latter half of the twelfth century is quite wonderful.



58. Walmer, Kent, c. 1120.
The Billet and Lozenge.

A remarkable instance of this profusion of Norman ornament occurs in the ruins of the small church of Shobdon, in Herefordshire (**59**), built about 1150, by Oliver de Merlemond, seneschal to Hugh Mortimer, of which a minute history is preserved and printed in the *Monasticon*[u], in the original Norman-French of

[u] Mon. Ang., vol. vi. p. 345.

the period. It appears that the founder went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, in Spain, during the progress of the work, and on his return was hospitably entertained in the monastery of St. Victor at Paris, with which he was so much pleased, that when his church was completed he sent for two monks from that monastery to serve it. The unusual richness of the work makes it a fair conjecture that he brought home with him from his travels either drawings or a remembrance of what he had seen, and applied this knowledge to his new building. It would be a curious matter of research to ascertain where he found it: the monastery of St. Victor has been entirely destroyed, but very similar work may be found in Anjou and Poitou of the same period, and it is probable that he would go through the English provinces in the west of France on his way to Spain. Similar rich work occurs in the west front of Chartres, and in many other buildings in different parts of France, but their exact dates have not been investigated.

59. Shobdon Church, Herefordshire, c. 1150. Shewing very rich Norman Sculpture.

THE CORBEL-TABLES (60) are at first very plain, consisting merely of square blocks at intervals, carrying the beam on flat stones which support the roof, or with

small arcs between them, or merely rude triangles, like the Anglo-Saxon arches; and these are sometimes continued in late work, as at Iffley, but in general, in late work the corbels are carved, and the small arcs more or less enriched.

60. St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, c. 1150.

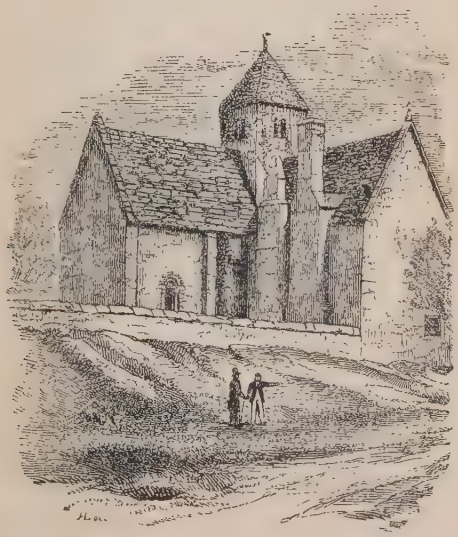
61. Sherborne Castle, A.D. 1115—1139.
Shewing an early Norman Vault groined without ribs.

The earliest Norman Vaults are quite plain, and of the barrel form, as in the chapel of the White Tower, London. In the next stage they have flat transverse arches only; they are then groined, but still without ribs: these plain groined vaults without ribs, over aisles or other narrow spaces, are often contemporaneous with the barrel vaults, and generally belong to the latter half of the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth, as at Sherborne Castle (**61**), built by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, A.D. 1115—1139; at a later period the ribs are introduced, at first square,

62. Peterborough Cathedral, A.D. 1117—1143.
Norman Vault with arch-ribs and groin-ribs.

then plain half-rounds, then moulded, as in Peterborough Cathedral (**62**), A.D. 1117—1143, and they gradually change their form until they almost imperceptibly assume the character of Early English work [x].

The Norman architects did not venture to throw a vault over a wide space until very near the end of the style, and various contrivances were necessary for vaulting over spaces of unequal width, such as stilted arches, and horse-shoe arches, (see Peterborough, **62**,) before the difficulty was solved by the use of the pointed arch.



63. Penmon Church, Anglesey.
Norman central Tower.

[x] There is a very good series of ribs shewing their progressive changes, in the aisles of Oxford Cathedral.

Norman Central Towers are very low and massive, seldom rising more than a square above the roof, sometimes not so much, the ridge of the original roof, as shewn by the weather-table on the face of the tower, being only just below the parapet. (See Penmon, **63**.) These towers were intended to be, and without doubt originally were, covered by low wooden pyramidal roofs, resembling in appearance those which we find in some parts of Normandy of the same period, there executed in stone, on account of the abundance of the material, the facility with which it is worked, and the skill of the workmen.

When the towers are not placed over the centre of the church, but at the west end, it is remarkable that the later Norman towers are more massive and not so lofty as the early ones, as at Lincoln, Jarrow, &c., already described (p. 36). They are comparatively low and heavy, sometimes diminishing by stages, and having buttresses of little projection on the lower parts. The belfry, or upper story, has frequently been

64. Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire. Norman Turret, with panelling, and pyramidal Spire.

added in late Norman times upon the earlier towers. The belfry windows are generally double, and divided by a shaft.

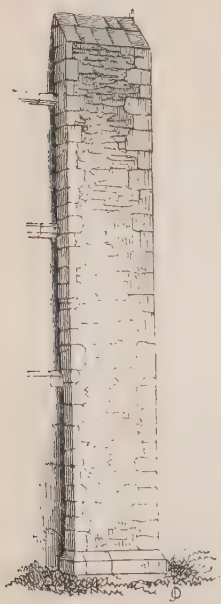
Early Norman Turrets are very rarely to be met with, but there are good examples at St. Alban's; at a later period they are frequent as stair-turrets, but have generally lost the original roof or capping: sometimes, as at Iffley, and Christchurch, Hampshire, they die into the tower below the corbel-table; in other instances, as at Bishop's Cleeve (**64**) and Bredon, they are carried up above the parapet and terminate in pinnacles; they are sometimes round and sometimes square.

The Round Towers which are so abundant in Norfolk and Suffolk (**65**) are frequently of the Norman period; some may be earlier, and others are certainly later; they are often so entirely devoid of all ornament or character, that it is impossible to say to what age they belong. The towers themselves are built of flint, and are built round to suit the material, and to save the expense of the stone quoins for the corners which are necessary for square towers, and which often may

65. Little Saxham, Suffolk. Round Tower.

not have been easy to procure in districts where building-stone has all to be imported. The same cause accounts for the frequent and long-continued use in the same districts of flat bricks or tiles for turning the arches over the doors and windows, which are either of Roman manufacture, or an imitation of the same form.

The Buttresses of this style were at first merely flat projections (**66**) wholly devoid of ornament, and these

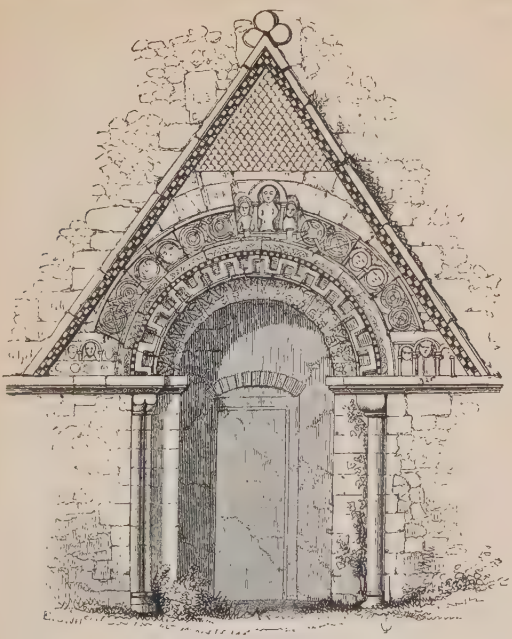


66. Iffley, Oxfordshire. Flat Norman Buttress.

67. Glastonbury Abbey, c. 1180.

are sometimes continued in late work; but in general, in late work there is a recess at the angle, in which

a small shaft is inserted; the strings are sometimes continued round the buttresses and sometimes stop short at them, but in the latter case the buttresses have gene-



68. St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, Kent, c. 1130.
A Shallow Porch with pediment.

rally been added to strengthen the wall after it was erected, and are not part of the original work[y]. In

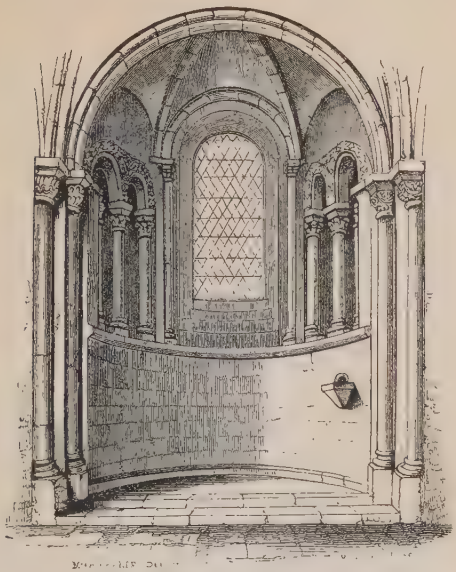
[y] In France the buttresses of this period are sometimes formed into half-rounds, or pilasters, on the outside of the wall, with capitals, as at St. Remi at Rheims. At St. Peter's, Northampton, an example occurs in late Norman work of a round buttress, like half of a clustered pillar attached to the wall, but such examples are very rare in England.

late Norman buildings the buttresses are sometimes square, and consequently have a much greater projection than the early flat buttresses.

Norman Porches have in general very little projection, sometimes only a few inches, but the thickness of the wall allows the doorways to be deeply recessed; they are sometimes terminated by a gable, or pediment, as at St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, Kent (68), where the projection is so slight that it may be called either a doorway with a pediment over it, or a shallow porch. More frequently the projection ends in a plain set-off, in which case the appearance is that of a doorway set in a broad flat buttress. There are, however, a few porches which have as great a projection as those of the succeeding styles, and the sides of these are usually ornamented with arcades: the outer archway is of the same character as other doorways. At Sherborne and at Southwell Minster there are good examples of these porches.

The Apse (69) has been already mentioned as a characteristic of the Norman style. In England it is more frequently used in early than in late work, and is found at the east ends of the chancel and its aisles, and on the east side of the transepts; being, in fact, the places for altars, which were afterwards continued in the same situations, but either merely under windows in a flat wall, or under arched recesses which frequently remain in the transept wall, and are sometimes erroneously described as doorways. In the Norman style the apse was not used at the west end, nor at the north and south ends of the transepts, as it was in the other Romanesque styles, the Lombardic, or Pisan, and the Byzantine.

The apse was, however, much more commonly used in England than would now be supposed from the appearance of our churches; this arises from the custom which has been mentioned of lengthening the churches



69. Romsey Abbey, Hants., c. 1160.
Interior of a Norman Apse.

castwards, which commenced in the latter half of the twelfth century, and was carried on vigorously in the thirteenth. The arch opening to the apse over the altar, (called the arch of triumph,) was commonly enriched in the same manner as the chancel-arch.

The Fronts, particularly the west fronts of Norman

churches, are frequently of very fine composition, having generally deeply-recessed doorways, windows, and arcades, all covered with a profusion of ornament in the later period. Porchester Church, Hampshire (**70**), is

70. Porchester Church, Hampshire, A.D. 1133.
Norman West Front.

a good example of a small and rather plain country church of this style. The east fronts much resemble the west, except in wanting the doorways. The transept-ends are also frequently very fine.

The general effect of a rich Norman church is very gorgeous, but it has a sort of barbaric splendour, far

removed from the chasteness and delicacy of the style which succeeded it.

Houses of the twelfth century, or Norman style, are rare, but we have several examples remaining. At Lincoln there are two; one, on the hill, called the Jew's House, the other, in the lower town, was the house of St. Mary's Guild; and at Boothby Pagnel, in Lincolnshire, is a manor-house of this style: at Southampton are ruins of two houses, one called the King's House, formerly the custom-house, the other in a low part of the town, attached to the remains of the town wall; at Minster, in the isle of Thanet, and at the Priory of Christchurch, in Hampshire, are houses which have belonged to monastic establishments; at Warnford, in the same county, are the foundations of a hall of this period; and in Farnham Castle, also in Hampshire, part of the great Norman hall remains, now converted into the servants' hall. At Appleton and Sutton Courtney, in Berkshire, are remains of manor-houses of this period; at Canterbury there are considerable remains of the monastic buildings of this century, among which is a fine external staircase with open arcades on each side; at Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, there are extensive remains of the domestic buildings, including the kitchen and offices, of pure Norman style; at Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, the house called Moyses' Hall, now used as the Bridewell, was probably the house of a wealthy Jew in the middle of the twelfth century; there is also another Norman house in that town; at Yate, in Gloucestershire, is a small house of this period, tolerably perfect, now forming the wing of a larger house of the time of Henry VIII.

The Change of Style.

We have seen that during the half-century which intervened between 1125 and 1175 an immense number of churches were built or rebuilt in England, and that the art of building consequently made rapid progress, the work becoming every year better executed, more highly finished, and of lighter character, it being one of the characteristics of a good workman not to waste his material. In the early Norman period the masonry was very bad, and, to make the work secure, great masses of material were used; but at the period to which we have now arrived the masonry is as good as at any subsequent period, and the workmen were fast discovering the various modes of economizing their material. This practice, in combination with other causes, tended greatly to introduce the change of style, and to facilitate its ready and rapid adoption, in the generality of cases, when introduced. The custom of vaulting over large spaces, which was now being commonly adopted, and the difficulty of vaulting over spaces of unequal span, also without doubt contributed largely to the use of the pointed arch [a].

In the work at Fountains Abbey already mentioned, the aisles are vaulted, and the width of the aisle being greater than the space between the pillars, it follows

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[a] This view was clearly brought out by Dr. Whewell in his ingenious and clever essay on the Churches of Germany (Cambridge 1842, third edition); and although the churches near the Rhine, from which his examples are taken, are of a subsequent date, the principle remains the same. Professor Willis also, in his excellent work on the churches of Italy (1835), had further illustrated the same principle.

that each compartment, or bay, of the vault was not square, but oblong; the greater length being across the aisle, where we have the semicircular arch or arch-ribs to carry the vault, the narrower space being from pillar to pillar towards the choir: we have there the pointed arch, and thus we have a succession of semicircular arches down the length of the aisle, and a range of pointed arches towards the choir: and the same on each side. But although this may account for the use of the pointed arch, it is still quite distinct from the Gothic style; we have it at Fountains in pure Norman work half-a-century before we have the same arrangement again at Canterbury, in the work of William of Sens after the fire. Here, however, we have not only the pointed arch, but it is accompanied by a general change of style,—all the accessories are undergoing a rapid change. The mouldings, the ornaments, the sculpture, and all other details are of a more highly finished and a lighter style.

The introduction of Byzantine or Oriental ornamentation by the Crusaders after their return from the East, had a very marked influence, and contributed greatly to the change of style in England and France. This change began to creep in as early as the end of the eleventh century, as at Carcassonne, where one of the earliest carved capitals is formed of palm-leaves, and this was executed before A.D. 1100. This new ornamentation was often added to buildings previously constructed, without rebuilding them, especially in France, as at Bernay in Normandy, S. Remi, Rheims, or Reims, and many other instances. This Byzantine or Oriental ornament did not come into general use until the latter half of the twelfth century. A school of Greek or Oriental sculptors appears to have been formed at Toulouse and in Aquitaine at an earlier period, and to have gradually spread northwards. There is no sculpture, properly so called,—that is,

no under-cutting requiring the skilful use of the chisel,—until late in the twelfth century.

The ornaments in late Norman work and in the period of transition often partake very much of a Greek or Byzantine or Oriental character. The foliage is frequently quite Greek, and other features may readily be seen not to be of the usual English or French type, (which at this period are very much alike). The excellent work of the Count de Vogüè on the Churches of Syria [b], shews distinctly that these ornaments were brought to Europe by the Crusaders on their return, in the middle and latter half of the twelfth century. The Greek character of what we call late Norman ornament has been frequently noticed. The Count also brought to Europe a valuable collection of drawings and photographs from Syria, chiefly from churches of the eighth and ninth centuries, in places deserted ever since the Christian population were *annihilated* in the Mahomedan invasion, and therefore entirely unaltered. Many other churches also remain in Syria, just as they were left at the time of the Crusaders; many of the details of those churches, of which engravings are published in this work, are identical with those introduced into Europe at that period by the returning Crusaders.

The union of this Oriental character with the Romanesque led by successive steps to the full development of the Gothic style. But this was also much influenced by the local schools of workmen, who acquired great skill by practice at home, though they were willing to receive fresh ideas from foreign countries. It was a development at home, with new ideas grafted upon it. Each great monastery and each cathedral chapter had its own gang or school of workmen rivalling each other, and eager to catch new ideas to surpass its rivals.

It happens fortunately that just at this principal turning-point in the history of architecture a most valuable record has been preserved to us, by an eye-witness, of the progress of the great work at Canterbury, year by year from the time of the fire to the completion of the work. William of Sens was appointed by the monks to restore the choir after the great fire in 1174, not because he was in advance of the English architects in style,

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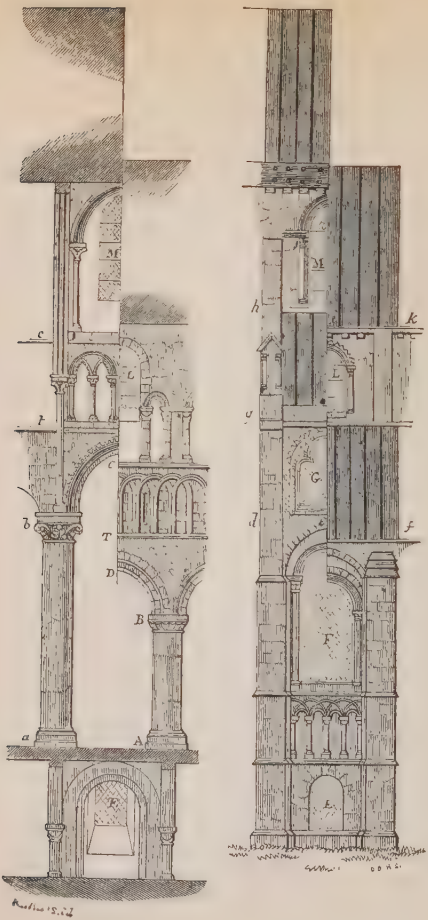
[b] This valuable work appeared in Paris, Vol. I. 1865, Vol. II. 1866. 4to.

but because he promised to preserve more of the old building than they did, and the monks wished to preserve as much as possible of the "Glorious Choir of Conrad." The researches of Professor Willis have enabled us to verify Gervase's description by the existing fabric, and to mark out with certainty the work of each year. The progressive change in the character of the work is very remarkable. At first it is almost pure Norman, though late; this is the work of the first year, 1175, and before its completion in 1184 it has gradually changed into almost pure Early English (71). In the beginning of the fourth year from the commencement of the work, that is, in 1179, the scaffolding gave way under the architect, William of Sens, who fell from the height of fifty feet; but, though much injured, he was not killed, and he continued for some months to direct the works from his bed, with the help of a young monk whom he had selected for the purpose, and who afterwards carried on the work on his own responsibility, with the help of such advice and instructions as he had received from the master. The successor was called 'William the Englishman.' The change of style became more rapid after this period, but there does not seem ground for supposing that it would have been otherwise, had William of Sens been able himself to complete the work he had so well begun. Much of the credit, however, must belong to his successor, who is described by Gervase as "William by name, English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." As was frequently the case, the pupil was in advance of his master; but William of Sens was much restricted by the necessity of making his choir correspond with the old work preserved in the aisles, whereas his successor was freed from this restraint, the old work not extending to the eastern chapel, or corona; and in the transepts, which were out of sight from the choir, the newer style was more freely adopted.

There are many striking points of resemblance in the Cathedral of Sens to that of Canterbury; there is also a remarkable coincidence in the history of the two cathedrals, Sens having been damaged and the roof burnt by a great fire in 1184, the very year that Canterbury was finished. This involved the necessity of rebuilding the central vault and clerestory, which are at least half a century later than the aisles and arcades.

A considerable part of the cathedral of Lisieux, in Normandy,



71. Canterbury Cathedral.

Exterior and Interior Elevations of the Compartments of the Choir, shewing the changes between A.D. 1096—1130; and 1175—1178. A similar change took place in nearly all the large churches of Europe about the same periods.

A B. Pillar of old work.
C. Triforium passage, or Clerestory Gallery, in old work.
D. Arch of old work.
E. Window of Crypt.
F. Window of Aisle.
G. Window of Triforium in new work.
LL. Clerestory Window of old work.
MM. Clerestory Window of new work.
a b. Pillar of new work.
c. String-course.
d e. Tabling of new work.
e f. Eaves of old work.
g. Roof of Aisle.
h i. Tabling under the new Clerestory.
i k. Top of the old Wall.

For these illustrations, and some others, I am indebted to Professor Willis's "History of Canterbury." Any one wishing to understand the subject thoroughly must study that work for himself.

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is of very similar character to Sens and Canterbury, and quite as much advanced in style, with pointed arches and transitional mouldings: it is also of the same date as Sens, 1143—1182[c]. It was built by Arnulf, who was bishop forty years; and the part which belongs to this period comprises the western part of the choir and the transepts, with the exceptions of the central vault and clerestory, which, as at Sens, have been added or rebuilt about half-a-century later. The church at Lisieux was completed by Bishop Jordan du Hommet, 1197—1214, and to this period belong the eastern part of the choir, with the apse, and probably the clerestory and central vault. The arches in the early part of the choir are obtusely pointed and not recessed, but with mouldings on the angles; the capitals are of rude Corinthian, and the bases have foot-ornaments. In the later parts we have lancet windows and Gothic mouldings, and the round abacus is used, as in England.

The Hospital of St. John, at Angers, built by King Henry the Second, 1177—1184, is a very remarkable specimen of transitional work; the arches and the vaulting are pure Gothic, while the windows are still round-headed and Romanesque.

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[c] Vide Robertus de Monte, apud Gall. Christ, vol. ii. fol. 649.

The choir of the cathedral of Poictiers, with its square east end, also built by Henry the Second, about the same time, is very similar in style—advanced transition.

Canterbury, as has been pointed out, is the earliest and the best-authenticated example of the change of style in England which we possess, and it enables us to fix a precise date to this great change; it serves as a type for very many others which were being carried on simultaneously, or soon after. The contrast drawn by Gervase between the old church and the new one has been already quoted in describing the earlier Norman work, and need not here be repeated. It will be sufficient to say that the masonry and the sculpture in the new work are both excellent, and that the peculiar ornament known by the name of the 'tooth-ornament' occurs abundantly in the new work: the mouldings, especially of the bases, are almost of pure Early English character.

72. Oakham Castle, Rutlandshire. Transitional Capital.

The hall of Oakham Castle, Rutlandshire (72), built by Walkelin de Ferrers, between 1165 and 1191, is an excellent specimen of transitional work. It retains a great deal of the Norman character, but late and rich: the capitals are very similar to some of those at Canterbury, and more like French work than the usual English cha-

racter; the tooth-ornament is freely introduced; the windows are round-headed within and pointed without, with good shafts in the jambs, and the tooth-ornament down each side of the shafts.

St. Frideswide Church, now Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, is a fine example of late Norman and transitional work of early character. It was consecrated in 1180, and was probably building for about twenty years previously: the confirmation, by Pope Hadrian IV. (Breakspeare, the only English Pope), of the charters granting the Saxon monastery of St. Frideswide to the Norman monks was not obtained until 1158, and it is not probable that they began to rebuild their church until their property was secured. The Prior at this period was Robert of Cricklade, called Canutus, a man of considerable eminence, some of whose writings were in existence in the time of Leland. Under his superintendence the church was entirely rebuilt from the foundations, and without doubt on a larger scale than before, as the Saxon church does not appear to have been destroyed until this period. The design of the present structure is very remarkable; the lofty arched recesses, which are carried up over the actual arches and the triforium, giving the idea of a subsequent work carried over the older work; but an examination of the construction shews that this is not the case, that it was all built at one time, and that none of it is earlier than about 1160. Precisely the same design occurs in a part of Romsey Abbey Church, Hampshire, and very similar ones may be seen in other places[d]: lofty arched recesses occur in Dunstable Priory Church, Bedfordshire, where Perpendicular windows have been inserted in the triforium, but the original design was the same.

At Christ Church, Oxford, the central tower is not square, the nave and choir being wider than the transepts, and consequently the east and west arches are round-headed, while the north and south are pointed: this would not in itself be any proof of transition, but the whole character of the work is late, though very rich and good, and the clerestory windows of the nave are

[d] This design, with the half-capital below in the aisles, and the other half-capital above in the nave or choir, is common in Italy, in Italian Gothic of various periods; it occurs in the great church of S. Petronio, at Bologna, even in Renaissance work, but it is rare in England.

pointed, without any necessity for it, which is then a mark of transition. The east end of this remarkable church was carefully and conscientiously restored in 1871-72, by G. G. Scott, R.A., for the Dean and Chapter. Fragments of the old work were found in the walls, which had been rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and enough remained to leave no doubt about the original design, which was faithfully carried out. This design, which is a large circular window with *two* round-headed windows under it, is very rare in England, and not common anywhere; the effect of it is very good. On the exterior there are turrets at the angles, with arcades of transitional character, some of the arches of which are round, others pointed. The windows of the choir are round-headed.

The remains of Byland Abbey, Yorkshire, afford a good example of this transition at the same period as Canterbury. The abbey had been founded in 1143, but the site originally granted was inconvenient, and it had been twice removed, now for the third time: "The monks having cleared a large tract of woodland and drained the marshes, removed again on the eve of All Saints, in the year of grace 1177, in the twenty-third year of King Henry the Second, a little more to the eastward, where this abbey, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, at length was settled, having a noble church and monastery[e]." It is an excellent specimen of transitional work: the lower windows are round-headed, the upper ones lancet-shaped; the arches are pointed, the mouldings of these and of their capitals and bases very bold and good, approaching very nearly to pure Early English; the pillars are clustered, and clustered vaulting-shafts are introduced.

St. Giles's Church, Oxford, of the time of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, who inducted a vicar to it in 1200, is a good specimen of very late transition; and here one of those anomalies which have been mentioned occurs—the nave-arches are pointed, but rather wide and obtuse than otherwise; across the south aisle is a very acute arch, for the obvious reason that the aisle is very narrow.

The Temple Church, London, is a well-known example of transitional work; the date of its dedication in 1185 is recorded

[e] Register of the Abbey, quoted by Burton, and in the Mon. Ang., vol. v. p. 343.

in a contemporary inscription over the west doorway; this applies to the round church only, the arches of which are pointed, but the work in other respects is more Norman than Early English.

The galilee of Durham Cathedral, built between 1180 and 1197, by Bishop Hugh de Puiset, or Pusey, is an excellent example of transitional work of a different kind; here all the work is of the very latest character that can be called Norman, yet all the arches are semicircular.

The small church of Clee, near Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, has an incised inscription in the south-west pillar of the nave recording the consecration of the church by Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in 1192. This pillar is of pure Norman work, and rather early in the style, probably about 1120, judging from the style as compared with other buildings; and this has been often cited as a proof of the late continuance of the Norman style, and that Bishop Hugh could not have built the pure Early English work at Lincoln. But on examination it is clear that the small square stone on which the inscription is cut, is inserted in the earlier Norman pier, a hole having been made to receive it: both the material and the jointing of the masonry prove this distinctly. The parts of the church to which the inscription refers are the choir and transepts, which have been rebuilt in a style very similar to Bishop Hugh's work at Lincoln, but a little earlier, while the old Norman nave has been retained. The details of the work of this period at Clee, bear a great resemblance to those of the choir of St. Hugh at Lincoln, although not quite so far advanced in style; at Clee there are still some slight remains of the Norman; at Lincoln they have quite disappeared, and the work is pure Early English.

A very valuable foreign example may here be referred to, which bears considerable resemblance to the galilee at Durham, —the church of St. Mary at Toscanella, in Italy, consecrated in 1206, as recorded on a contemporary inscription still preserved on part of the building: the arches are all semicircular, but the tooth-ornament occurs; the capitals are very similar to those at Canterbury and Oakham, and all the details are of transitional character. In Italy, generally, the round arch and the Romanesque style continued in use throughout the thirteenth century, with a few exceptions.

The greater part of the churches near the Rhine are of this period, as has been ably shewn by M. de Lassaulx[1]; the Romanesque character is preserved in those churches down to about 1220, or even 1250, a period subsequent to some of our finest Early English work, such as Bishop Hugh's work at Lincoln, Bishop Lucy's at Winchester, Bishop Joceline's at Wells, and contemporacy with Salisbury Cathedral.

The choir of the church of Notre Dame in Paris was commenced by Bishop Maurice de Sully in 1163, and completed before 1185; the west front and the nave are later; it is a fine example of transitional work, with massive round pillars and pointed arches; the capitals are very similar to those of Canterbury. It should be noticed that these plain round pillars with capitals in imitation of the Roman Composite continued in use in France for a very long period, not only throughout the thirteenth century, as at Chartres and at Amiens, but in later work also; and the same idea seems to be continued even in the Flamboyant work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while in England we never find them after the twelfth century. The square abacus also is continued in France in all the styles, while with us it is a mark of Norman or transitional work.

The choir of the church of St. Germain des Prés at Paris, and the cathedral of Mantes, were built at the same time, and are of the same character with Notre Dame.

Parts of the church of St. Remi at Rheims, and the cathedrals of Laon and Noyon, are very fine examples of transitional work. A great number of churches in the country round Soissons, called the "Soissonais," are of this character. The cathedral of Soissons itself almost belongs to it, though late, and amounting nearly to pure Early French work. The choir was finished in 1212, as recorded in a contemporary inscription; but the south transept belongs to an earlier building, 1168—1175; it has an apse, and the work is very similar to the eastern part of Canterbury.

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[1] See his Notes on the Churches near the Rhine, translated and appended to the third edition of Dr. Whewell's Essay. Cambridge, 1842.

CHAPTER IV.

The Early English Style.

RICHARD I. JOHN. HENRY III. A.D. 1189—1272.

THE great rapidity with which a decided change in the style and character of the work was taking place at this period, would appear almost incredible if it were not proved by so many instances, and especially by the well-authenticated account of Canterbury. After carefully noticing the great change which took place there during the ten years that the work was in progress, we shall not be much surprised to find some examples of pure Gothic work in the following ten years.

Canterbury was completed in 1184, and in 1185 St. Hugh of Grenoble, commonly called St. Hugh of Burgundy, was appointed bishop of Lincoln, and immediately began to rebuild his cathedral; or in the words of Godwin, quoting apparently from some contemporary record, "His church of Lincoln he caused to be new built from the foundation; a great and memorable worke, and not possible to be performed by him without infinite helpe. . . . He died at London on November 17th, in the year 1200. . . . His body was presently conveyed to Lincolne . . . and buried in the body of the east part of the church, above the high aulter[a]." It is therefore plain that this portion of the building was completed, and a careful examination enables us to distinguish clearly the work completed in the time of Bishop Hugh, which comprises the choir and the eastern transept, with its chapels. The vaults of St. Hugh's choir, and of both the transepts, were introduced subsequent to the fall of the tower.

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[a] Godwin's "Catalogue of the Bishops," 4to. Lond. 1601, p. 237. The Magna Vita S. Hugonis is evidently the authority for what Godwin states.

The schools of the north of Lincolnshire, and the south of Yorkshire, appear to have been little in advance of any others in Europe at that period. St. Hugh's choir of Lincoln Cathedral is the earliest building of the pure Gothic style, free from any mixture of the Romanesque, that has been hitherto found in Europe or in the world. The Oriental styles are not Gothic, though they helped to lead to it. The French Gothic has a strong mixture of the Romanesque with it down to a later period than the choir of Lincoln. St. Hugh of Lincoln certainly did not bring the Gothic style with him from his own country, Dauphiny, or from the Grande Chartreuse where he was educated, for nothing of the kind existed there at that period. Grenoble (the place from which St. Hugh was brought to England) and its neighbourhood was quite half-a-century behind England in the character of its buildings, in the time of Henry II. of England and of Anjou, in whose time and in whose dominions this style was developed.

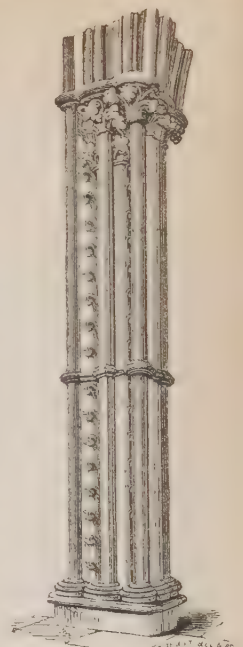
Care must be taken to distinguish exactly what parts of Lincoln Cathedral are really of the time of St. Hugh of Grenoble, that is, of the last ten years of the twelfth century, A.D. 1192—1200; these consist of the outer walls of "St. Hugh's choir," with the small internal wall-arcade in the aisles which belong to it, the eastern transept, with the apsidal chapels on the eastern side of it, and one bay on the eastern side of the great transept, on each side of the west end of the choir. But this choir and the aisles had originally wooden roofs and flat ceilings, like Peterborough. The proof of this is that lancet-windows remain in the wall *above* the vault in the eastern transept, shewing clearly that the vault was introduced afterwards at a lower level. All the vaults have been introduced in the same manner, without disturbing the great outer timber roof. This has caused some irregularities in the vault of the choir, the central line of which is not horizontal, but was made to fit the roof. The level of the vault of the great transept cuts off nearly half of the circular window at the north end. These vaults shew no marks of the falling of the central tower; they were, therefore, introduced after that time. The probable date of them is about A.D. 1240, and of the northern circular window about 1220. We know from the Bishop's registers that great works were going on at both these dates, under Bishops Hugh

Walys or De Wells, and Grostete. The outer walls of the aisles of St. Hugh's choir have been thickened within, and a second wall-arcade introduced in such a manner as not to hide the original one. There is a straight vertical joint in the thickness of the wall, and the back of the second arcade is quite flat, not worked at all. The vaults of the choir and aisles were introduced after this second arcade. The vaulting-shafts carry the vaults of the aisles, and belong to the third period, and this accounts for the three shafts in front of each other, which have so long been a puzzle to the architectural student.

These observations are the results of a careful examination of *the construction*, made in 1872, with the help of the clerk of the works. The fabric has been going on for half a century or more, and these changes of plan were made without any change of the mouldings or details, which is contrary to the usual theory, and perhaps to the usual practice. In the triforium gallery the original flat buttresses remain against the wall of the choir, with arches built across the gallery to support the central vault, and on the exterior the original flat buttresses also remain, with square buttresses built against them alternately, to support the thrust of the arches within, so that the thrust of the central vault is carried down to the ground with much ingenuity. The piers between the choir and the aisles have been cased, to strengthen them on the outer side towards the aisle; the capitals remain, with their beautiful foliage towards the choir, but are cut away in the aisles. The outer side of each of the piers now belongs either to the Decorated or to the Perpendicular period, perhaps replacing an earlier casing. The vault of the chapter-house has been added in the same manner, and the enormous flying buttresses have been built up against the walls to support it, *not built into* the wall, but merely against it.

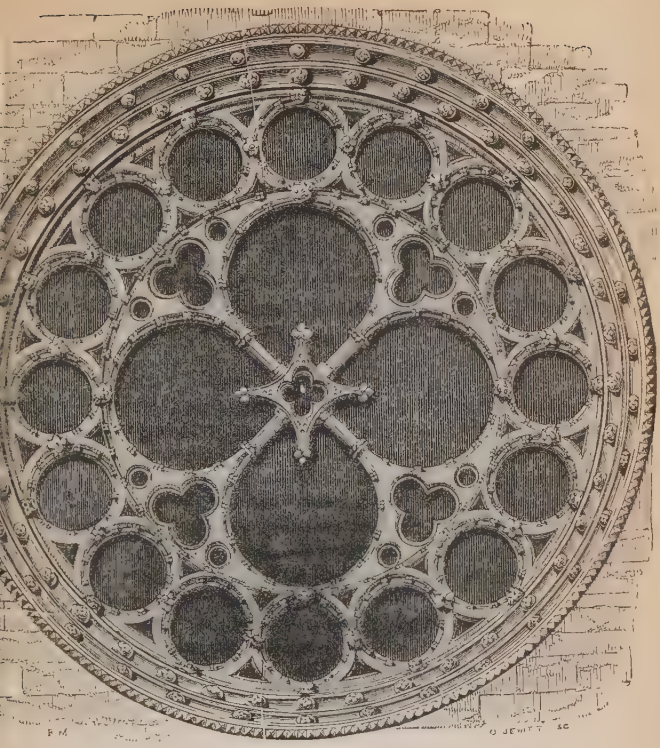
The central tower fell down in 1237, not long after it was built, and was restored in the same style with so much care that the junctions of the work can only be seen by careful examination. The nave is a subsequent work, continued in the same style by Hugh de Wells and Grosiete, and the presbytery eastward of the choir is still later [A.D. 1260], and in a later style. This agrees with the recorded history of the building, and therefore leaves no doubt of the genuineness of the work ascribed to

St. Hugh. Nothing can well exceed the freedom, delicacy, and beauty of this work; the original arcade, of the time of St. Hugh, is of the same free and beautiful style as the additions of his successors. The foliage of the capitals is exquisitely beautiful, and though distinguished technically by the name of stiff-leaf foliage, because there are stiff stalks to the leaves, rising from the ring of the capital, the leaves themselves curl over in the most graceful manner, with a freedom and elegance not exceeded at any period. The mouldings are also as bold and as deep as possible, and there is not a vestige of Norman character remaining in any part of the work. The crockets arranged vertically one over the other behind the detached marble shafts of the pillars (73), are a remarkable and not a common feature, which seems to have been in use for a few years only; it occurs also in the west front of Wells Cathedral, the work of Bishop Jocelyn, a few years after this at Lincoln; or perhaps under him, of Hugh de Wells, who had been archdeacon of Wells before he became bishop of Lincoln. After he became bishop he acted with Jocelyn, Bishop of Wells, as stated by Godwin, who says "He (Jocelyn) also and Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, laying their purses together, founded the hospital of St. John in Wells."



73. Lincoln Cathedral, A.D. 1190—1200. Pillar of Choir.

The cathedral of Grenoble, which is of the twelfth century, is poor and low, and has nothing whatever to correspond with the work of St. Hugh at Lincoln; the cathedral of Vienne, the ancient capital of the province of Dauphiny, in which Grenoble is situated, has some very fine work, but quite of



74. Lincoln Cathedral, c. 1220.
Circular Window, end of North Transept.

a different character from Lincoln, and is of later date; the cathedral of Lyons, now the chief city of the province, has also some fine work, and a remarkable series of windows exhibiting progressive changes in plate-tracery; and the fluted pilasters in imitation of Roman work which are used in that cathedral and

many other churches of that district, as at Cluny, at the end of the twelfth century, are supposed by some persons to have given the idea of the clustered shafts at Lincoln; but if so, the progress was wonderfully rapid: the exact date of the work at Lyons has not been ascertained. At Dijon, the capital of the French duchy of Burgundy at a later period, there is work very like Lincoln, especially in the church of Notre Dame; but the date of this is A.D. 1220—1230, thirty years later than the corresponding work at Lincoln, and there was no connection between Dijon and the kingdom of Burgundy, a fief of the German empire, in which Grenoble was situated.

St. Hugh has long had the reputation of having been a great builder of churches, and it is recorded that he assisted in the work of his cathedral with his own hands, probably in order to excite the enthusiasm of the people; but it appears that he was not the architect of his cathedral[b]. The name of the architect, "constructor ecclesiæ," was Geoffrey de Noyers. A family of that name had been settled in Lincolnshire for more than a century before the time of St. Hugh, and as the work is of a distinctly Lincolnshire type, the architect was probably a Lincolnshire man. The first place at which St. Hugh was located in England by Henry II. was the Carthusian priory of Witham in Somersetshire. A church or chapel of that priory remains, now the parish church, and is of a Somersetshire type, not at all more advanced than other churches of that neighbourhood at the same time, and although transitional, much more Romanesque than Gothic. The castle of Avallon on the borders of Savoy, between Grenoble and Chambery, where St. Hugh was born, and the small church of his cell at St. Marcellin on his father's estate on the brow of the mountain, near the castle,

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[b] See the "Metrical Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln," written about 1230, and published at Lincoln in 1860, very carefully edited by the Rev. J. F. Dimock. See also the "Gentleman's Magazine" for November and December, 1860, and *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. The MS. of the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* was written by his domestic chaplain; the original MS., in the Bodleian Library, contains the passage relating to the architect, "Gaufridus de Noyers." The *Magna Vita* was published in 1865, in the series of the Master of the Rolls, and also admirably edited by Mr. Dimock. The "Metrical Life" is a popular abridgement of the *Magna Vita*.

are buildings of the twelfth century; the castle is in ruins, and of the church little besides the tower is genuine work of the time of St. Hugh. But both of these are rude and barbarous Romanesque structures, more like Anglo-Saxon work in England than like Lincoln, to which they have not the slightest approach. The buildings of the Grande Chartreuse, at the time St. Hugh was there, were of wood only, and these were entirely carried away by an avalanche a few years afterwards. The Grande Chartreuse is high up in the Alps, almost within sight of the castle of Avallon.

Simultaneously with this glorious work of St. Hugh of Lincoln, we have the presbytery at Winchester, the work of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, 1195—1205. This work, though perhaps not quite so exuberant as that of St. Hugh, is scarcely inferior to it. A part of Beverley Minster is also of very similar character (75).

75. Beverley Minster.
Triforium with double Arcade.

Possibly the double arcade there originated in the same manner as that at Lincoln, in St. Hugh's choir, from the necessity for thickening the wall to make it to carry a stone vault, and at the same time, a reluctance to hide the arcade in the original wall. The trefoiled arcade looks later than the original obtusely

pointed or semicircular one, and at Lincoln they are clearly of two periods, though still in the same style.

At the same period, but continuing later, we have Glasgow Cathedral, the work commenced by Bishop Joceline in 1195: he was buried in the crypt, which proves the completion of that part of the work, one of the finest crypts in existence.

The beautiful galilee, or large western porch, of Ely is also of this period, commenced in 1198, and finished in 1215, by Bishop Eustace. Nothing can exceed the richness, freedom, and beauty of that work; it is one of the finest porches in the world. Here, also, the work is distinguished by the double arcades which we have noticed at Lincoln, again possibly from the same cause, to carry a vault of stone introduced afterwards.

The choir and transepts of Rochester Cathedral were also building soon after this time, and are a very beautiful and remarkable example of Early English. The architect was William de Hoo, first sacristan, then prior, and there is some reason to believe that he is the same person as William the young Englishman, who assisted William of Sens after his fall from the scaffold at Canterbury, and completed the work there. A young man at Canterbury in 1185, able to carry on and complete such a work, may very well have become the architect on his own account of the daughter church of Rochester in 1201—1227, and there is great resemblance in style between Rochester and the later work at Canterbury.

Salisbury Cathedral is usually considered as THE TYPE of the Early English style, from the circumstance of its being less mixed than any other building of the same importance. It was commenced in 1220 on a new site, by Bishop Richard Poore, who died in 1237, and was buried in the choir, which was therefore completed at that time. The church was finished by Bishop Giles de Bridport, and consecrated in 1258.

The nave and the glorious west front of Wells Cathedral belong also to this period, 1206—1239, as recorded by contemporary authorities, thus translated by Bishop Godwin:—"Moreover in building he (Bishop Joceline de Welles) bestowed inestimable sums of money. He built a stately chappell in his palace at Welles[c], and another at Owky (Wokey)[d], as also many other

[c] The existing chapel of the Bishop's Palace is of the time of Edward I. or II. Part of the palace is of this date. The word *houses* is used by

edifices in the same houses; and lastly, the church of Welles itselfe being now ready to fall to the ground, notwithstanding the great cost bestowed upon it by Bishop Robert, he pulled downe the greater part of it, *to witte, all the west ende,* built it anew from the very foundation, and hallowed or dedicated it October 23, 1239." It is evident from the construction that the west front is earlier than the nave; but there is some doubt whether Bishop Godwin has correctly applied the passage that he quotes. Perhaps by "all the west ende" he intended to include the nave, which can hardly be later than that date, yet it is certainly later than the west front. It was usual to build the west front immediately after the choir, and leave the nave to be filled in afterwards.

It is scarcely possible to overrate the value and importance of the extraordinary series of sculptures with which the west front of Wells Cathedral is enriched; they are superior to any others known of the same period in any part of Europe[e].

The chapter-house at Christ Church, Oxford, the choir of Worcester Cathedral, a considerable part of Fountains Abbey, the choir of Rochester, the south transept of York, the presbytery of Ely, the nine altars of Durham at the east end, and the same part of Fountains Abbey, the choir of the Temple Church, London, and the nave of Lincoln, are amongst the well-known examples of this period, the first half of the thirteenth century.

In the year 1245, King Henry the Third, "being mindful of the devotion which he had towards St. Edward the Confessor, ordered the church of St. Peter at Westminster to be enlarged, and the eastern part of the walls, with the tower and transepts, being pulled down, he began to rebuild them in a more elegant style, having first collected at his own charges the most subtle artificers, both English and foreign." The portions of the church built by Henry the Third are the choir and apse, the

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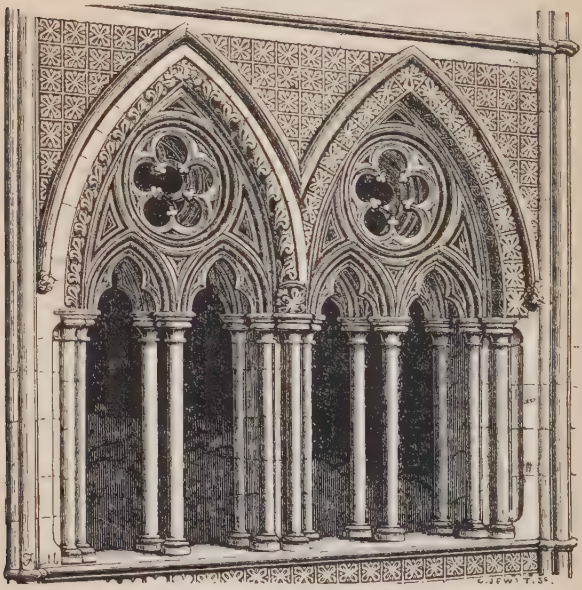
Godwin in the sense of establishments and monastery, and a college is often called a *house*.

[d] Part of the Palace of Wokey remains.

[e] See Cockerell's "Sculptures of Wells Cathedral," 4to., 1851, and the admirable series of photographs of them published by the Architectural Photographic Association.

transepts, the first bay only of the nave, and part of the cloister. This work is of the richest character, but still pure Early English, though with a slight mixture of Early French character, especially in the buttresses. The surface of the wall is covered with diaper-work, the triforium arcade is double, and has foliated circles of bar-tracery in the head. The points of the cusps are flowered, and the outer moulding of the arch is enriched with foliage resembling crockets (76).



76. Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1250.

Triforium Arcade, shewing the surface of wall covered with diaper ornament, arch-mouldings enriched with foliage, sub-arches foliated, coupled shafts having moulded capitals, a foliated circle in the head with ornamented cusps.

The north transept of York Minster (77) was built between 1250 and 1260, by John the Roman, treasurer of the church, or rather probably by the chapter of which he was treasurer and paymaster, and so his name became attached to it, more especially as he afterwards became Archbishop of York. The records of the cathedral clearly prove that it was the regular practice of the chapter to keep a gang of workmen in their pay as part of the establishment; the number varied from twenty to fifty, and the same families were usually continued generation after generation: to their continued labour, always doing something every year, we are indebted for the whole of that glorious fabric. This practice was by no means peculiar to York, but appears to have been the usual custom. We are, however, indebted to Mr. Browne for first printing the documents in the case of York[f].

77. York Minster, A.D. 1250.
North Transept, shewing clustered pillars with stilted bases, capitals with stiff-leaf foliage, and mouldings, enriched with the tooth-ornament.

The small church of Skelton, in Yorkshire, was also built by

[f] See Browne's "History of York Minster," 2 vols. 4to., York, 1847. These Fabric Rolls have since been printed, and more carefully edited, by Mr. Raine, for the Surtees Society, in 8vo., Durham, 1858.

John the Roman, in 1247. It is an excellent example of a small church of this style.

The beautiful Lady-chapel of Wells Cathedral was commenced by Bishop Bitton in 1248: he died in 1264, and was buried in it. The style corresponds with that of the Angel-choir, at the east end of Lincoln, of the same period.

The chapter-house at Salisbury is of nearly the same period, and very similar style. The chapter-house of York is of rather later style, and probably of the time of Edward I.

The presbytery of Lincoln Cathedral was built between 1256 and 1282, in which latter year the relics of St. Hugh were translated to the new building, which is of the richest character, and approaches very nearly to the following style. The windows have foliated circles in the head, and actual tracery.

Having now completed an outline of the history of the principal known buildings of the Early English style, it remains only to describe its characteristic features.

There is a marked distinction in the construction of Gothic vaults in England and France from the earliest period. In England, from the earliest period, each stone is cut to fit its place, in France the stones are cut square or rather oblong, as in the walls, and only wedged out by the thickness of the mortar at the back in the joints. The English system is far more scientific, but also far more costly; the French system is infinitely more economical of labour, and consequently of expense. From this cause stone vaults are far more common in France than in England; and from this cause also fan-tracery vaulting is peculiar to England, and it begins, in principle, as early as in the cloister of Lincoln, c. A.D. 1220, where the vault is of wood, but the springings are of stone, and cut to fit the ribs of the wooden vault.

"EARLY ENGLISH BUILDINGS are readily distinguished from those of the Norman period by their comparative lightness, their long, narrow, lancet-shaped, pointed windows[g], their boldly projecting buttresses and pin-

[g] This characteristic applies only to the early part of the style, from A.D. 1190 to about A.D. 1220 or 1230, after that time circles in the head of the windows of two or more lights came in, and the circles became foliated by about A.D. 1230, and from that time to 1260 or 1270, when the Decorated style began to come into fashion.

Rushden, Northants, A.D. 1260.

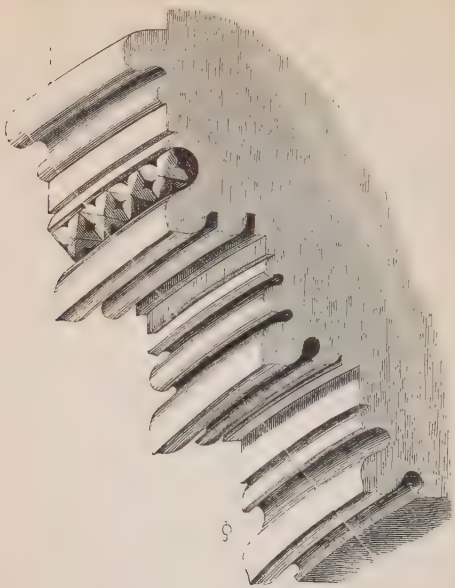
Sedilia, Piscina, and Window of Chancel.

nacles, and the acute pitch of the roof. Internally, we have pointed arches supported on slender and lofty pillars, which are frequently formed of a number of shafts connected at intervals by bands. One of these shafts is frequently carried up to the springing of the roof, where it ramifies in various directions to form the ribs of the vaulting, which have now lost the heaviness of the Norman period and are become light and elegant. The whole character of the building is changed, and instead of the heavy masses and horizontal lines of the Norman style, we have light and graceful forms and vertical lines."

The rapidity with which the change of style took place has been pointed out, and the complete character of the change, which was developed as fully in some of the earliest buildings of the new style as in the latest. New ideas and a new life seem to have been given to architecture, and the builders appear to have revelled in it even to exuberance and excess, and it was necessary afterwards, in some degree, to soften down and subdue it. At no period has "the principle of verticality" been so far carried out as in the Early English style, and even in some of the earliest examples of it. Probably the fall of St. Hugh's tower at Lincoln, A.D. 1237, and some other similar occurrences, taught the necessity of greater caution.

One of the chief characteristics of the Early English style consists in the MOULDINGS, which differ essentially from those of the Norman; for while those consisted chiefly of squares with round mouldings on the angles,

or with the angles chamfered off, in the Early English they are chiefly bold rounds, with equally bold and deeply cut hollows, which produce a strong effect of

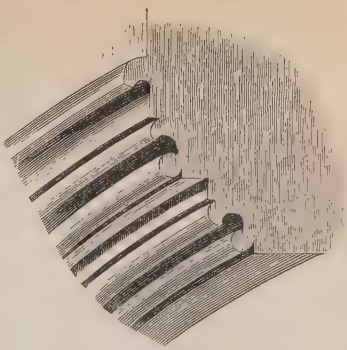


78. Haseley, Oxfordshire, c. 1220.

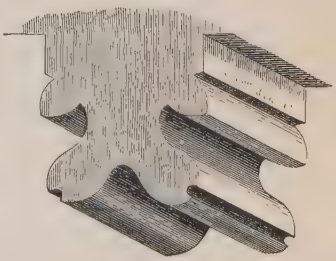
Suite of Mouldings, shewing rounds and hollows, the pear-shaped moulding and the use of the tooth-ornament in a hollow moulding.

light and shade (**78**). In many of the earlier examples the square profile of the recessed Norman arch is retained, and the mouldings are cut chiefly on the angles, as in the nave of Milton Church, Oxfordshire (**79**); but as the style advances this squareness is lost, and the mouldings appear to be cut on a chamfer, or sloping

surface, and none of the plain square masonry remains, the whole being worked up into rich suites of mouldings, separated only by deep hollows. In the later examples a peculiar moulding called the roll[h] moulding (**80**), is used; and it was still more used in the succeeding, or Decorated style, and is often considered one of the marks of that style. The fillet was now used profusely on the rounds; one, two, or sometimes three fillets being cut on a single moulding, as in the choir of the Temple Church, London (**81**), thus giving a very different though still beautiful character to them; but this always shews a tendency to transition to the next style.



79. Nave of Milton Church, Oxon. Arch-mouldings.



80. Temple Church, London, A.D. 1240. Shewing the pear-shaped moulding, and an early variety of the roll-moulding, with deep hollows between.

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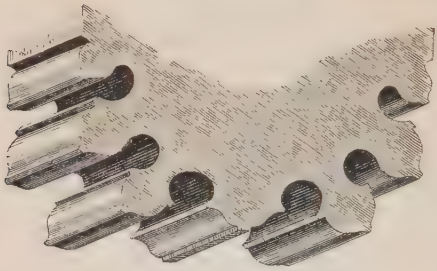
[h] Sometimes called the *scroll* moulding, but *roll* is the correct term, from the close resemblance to a roll of parchment with the edge overlapping.

The natural use and the profusion of mouldings in the English buildings of the thirteenth century is considered as one of the proofs of the English origin of the Gothic style. The French imitated it rapidly, but in a cheaper manner, and their buildings are, on the whole, not quite equal to ours, that is, taking into account both exterior and interior. The profuse suites



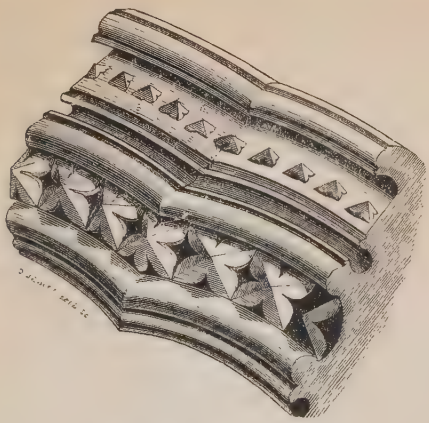
31. Temple Church, London, A.D. 1240.

A suite of mouldings from the choir, shewing the use of fillets.

of mouldings so common in English doorways and arches, are almost unknown in France: some things they developed more rapidly than we did, but in the mouldings they were behind us.

Throughout the Early English period there is an ornament used in the hollow mouldings which is as characteristic of this style as the zigzag is of the Norman; this consists of a small pyramid, more or less acute, cut into four leaves or petals meeting in the point but separate below. When very acute, and seen in profile, it may be imagined to have somewhat the appearance of a row of dogs'-teeth, and from this it has been called the "dog-tooth ornament," or by some

the shark's-tooth ornament, more commonly the "TOOTH-ORNAMENT," (**82**). It is used with the greatest pro-



82. York Cathedral, A.D. 1240.

Mouldings from the north transept, shewing the tooth-ornament.

fusion on arches, between clustered shafts, on the architraves and jambs of doors, windows, piscinas, and indeed in every place where such ornament can be introduced. It is very characteristic of this style, for though in the Norman we find an approach to it, and in the Decorated various modifications of it, still the genuine tooth-ornament may be considered to belong exclusively to the Early English.

The ornaments so well known by the name of Crockets were first introduced in this style. The name is taken from the shepherd's crook, adopted by the bishops as emblematical of their office, and called in French *crochets*. They occur at Lincoln, in St. Hugh's

work, the earliest, the purest, and best example of this style, and are there used in the unusual position of a vertical line between the detached shafts of Purbeck marble (**83**). They are found in the same position also in the rich and beautiful work of the west front of Wells, which is the example following most closely on Lincoln both in historical date and in style[1]. Afterwards they were used entirely on the outside of pediments, or in similar situations, projecting from the face of the work or the outer surface of the moulding, as in the very beautiful tomb of Archbishop Walter Grey (**83**), in York Cathedral; and they continued in use in the subsequent styles, although their form and character gradually change with the style. In the Early English they are formed of the conventional foliage, with the usual knobs or lobes on the surface of the leaf; in the Decorated they are copied from natural foliage; in the Perpendicular they are square, stiff, and flat.

83. York Cathedral, A.D. 1255.
Crockets from the tomb of Archbishop Walter Grey.

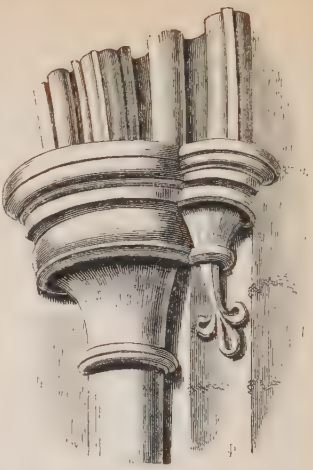
[1] Probably both are the work of Hugh de Wells, first Archdeacon of Wells, and then Bishop of Lincoln, as has been said.

Another peculiarity consists of the FOLIAGE, which differs considerably from the Norman: in the latter it has more or less the appearance of being imitated from that of the Classic orders, while in this it is entirely original. Its essential form seems to be that of a trefoil leaf, but this is varied in such a number of ways that the greatest variety is produced. It is used in cornices, the bosses of groining, the mouldings of windows and doorways, and various other places, but particularly in capitals, to which it gives a peculiar and distinctive character. The foliage of these capitals is technically called "Stiff-leaf foliage," but this alludes only to the stiff stem or stalk of the leaf, which rises from the ring of the capital; the foliage itself is frequently as far removed from stiffness as any can be, as for instance in the capitals of Lincoln (**84**). The stiff stalk is, however, a ready mark to distinguish the Early English capital from that of the succeeding style.

84. Lincoln Cathedral, A.D. 1220.
North Transept, shewing the moulded abacus, stiff-leaf foliage, and the tooth-ornament used between the shafts.

We must bear in mind, however, that foliage is by no means an essential feature of the Early English

style; many of our finest buildings such as Westminster Abbey (**85**), have their capitals formed of a plain bell reversed, with mouldings round the abacus, like rings put upon it, and round the neck.



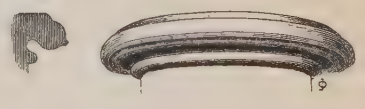
85. Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1250.
Moulded capital.

It must be acknowledged that the use of foliage, as at Lincoln, does give greater richness of effect to the building. The origin of this foliage has been much discussed; it seems most probable that it was derived by gradual changes from the Classical orders, chiefly from the Ionic volute; and Sir Gilbert Scott, in his Lectures, has shewn that he can trace it, by successive steps, from Byzantium through the south of France, beginning with Carcassone. Byzantine foliage was also introduced, with other ornaments, by the Crusaders, in various countries, on their return from Syria, in the latter half of the twelfth century.

Mr. Skidmore of Coventry, an ingenious and clever worker in metal, has endeavoured to prove that it is derived and copied from metal ornament, chiefly of gold, which was used at an earlier period, as is recorded at Glastonbury, built by St. Dunstan in 942, when the fabric was of wood plated with gold: this wooden church is mentioned again in King Cnut's charter in 1032; and it probably existed until it was destroyed by fire near the end of the twelfth century. It is certain that no vestige of early Norman masonry or stone sculpture has been

found there—nothing earlier than 1185, the date of the fire; at which time St. Joseph's Chapel was commenced, but hardly finished, and this is of the transitional style of that period. Early Norman masonry is in general so massive and substantial that it is difficult to destroy all traces of it. If it could be proved that the wooden church at Glastonbury, with its gold ornaments, and probably other similar examples of rich shrines of the saints, existed as late as the time of St. Hugh of Lincoln, it would give considerable plausibility to Mr. Skidmore's theory. It should be observed that those people who were particularly skilful in working the precious metals, as the Anglo-Saxons and the Spaniards, made no use of sculpture in stone at the same period. In Spain, the rich ornamental work in stone of the sixteenth century is called *Pluteresque*, or metallic, the forms of the stone-carving being evidently imitated from the ornamental work in metal which was in common use at that period, and of which specimens are frequently met with in modern collections of articles of *vertù*.

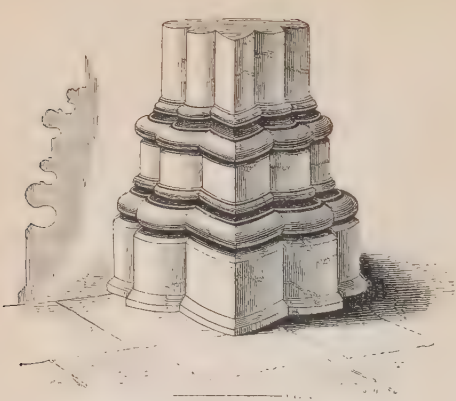
In pure Early English work the ABACUS is circular[k], and consists, in the earlier examples, simply of two rounds, the upper one the largest, with a hollow between them (**86**); but in later examples the mouldings are frequently increased in number, and filleted.



86. Lincoln Cathedral, A.D. 1220.
Abacus with round and hollow moulding.

[k] The general use of this feature is peculiar to England and Normandy; even in the best early French work, of the Royal Domain, the abacus is generally square; and as there can be no doubt that the round abacus is more consistent with pure Gothic work, the square one belonging more properly to the Classic styles, this circumstance is a strong argument in favour of the greater purity of English Gothic. Generally, also, the MOULDINGS are much more numerous and much richer in English work than in foreign work of the same period, as has been said.

The Bases generally consist of two rounds, the lower one the largest, both frequently filleted, with a deep hollow between placed horizontally (**87**); but in



87. Lincoln Cathedral, A.D. 1220.

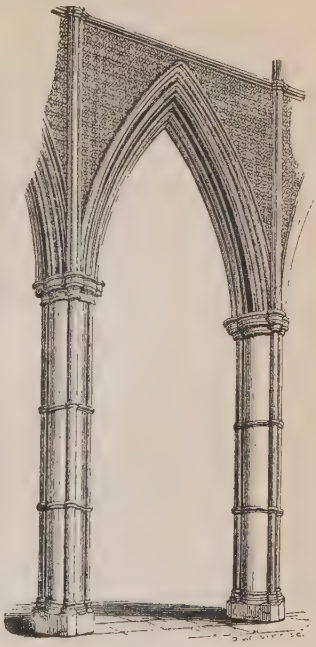
Base, with a double set of mouldings, shewing the deep hollow which holds water, peculiar to this style, and a clustered pillar of round and pear-shaped shafts.

later examples this hollow is not found, its place being filled up with another round moulding.

The Pillars are of various forms—round or octagonal in small and plain churches, and these not unfrequently alternate; in richer work they are usually clustered; but the pillar most characteristic of the style is the one with detached shafts (**88**), which are generally of Purbeck marble, frequently very long and slender, and only connected with the central shaft by the capital and base, with or without one or two

bands at intervals. These bands are sometimes rings of copper gilt, as in the choir of Worcester Cathedral, and were sometimes necessary for holding together the slender shafts of Purbeck marble.

88. Salisbury Cathedral, A.D. 1220—1237.
Clustered pillar with detached shafts.



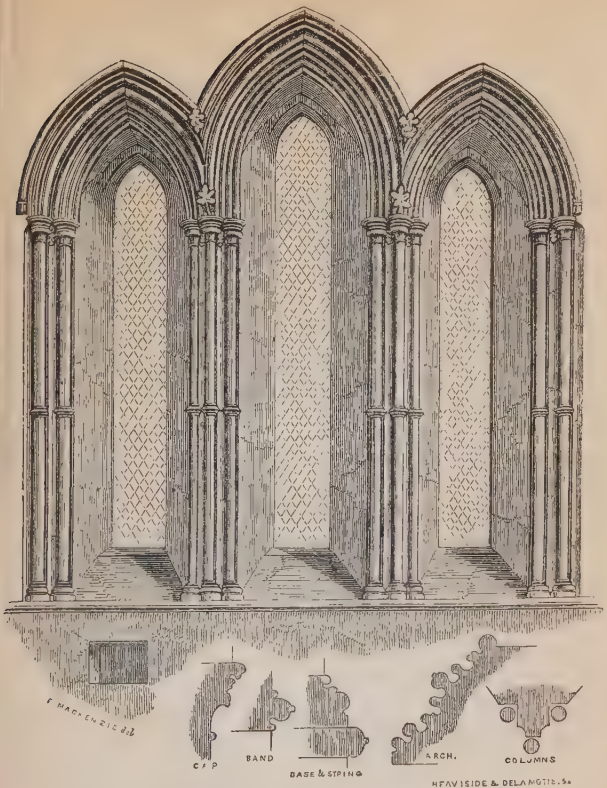
89. Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1245.
Arch, north transept.

THE ARCHES are frequently, but not always, acutely pointed, and in the more important buildings are generally richly moulded, as in Westminster Abbey (**89**),

either with or without the tooth-ornament, as the arches at York Minster (**77**). It has been already observed that the form of the arch is never a safe guide to the date or style of a building—it depended much more on convenience than anything else; the mouldings are the most safe guide: for instance, the arches of the nave of Westminster Abbey are of the same form as those of the choir and transepts, yet they were built by Sir Richard Whittington[1], (better known by the story of his cat), in the fifteenth century, and their mouldings belong distinctly to that period. In plain parish churches the arches are frequently without mouldings, merely recessed and chamfered; the only character being in the capitals and bases, or perhaps in the hood-moulds, though these also are sometimes wanting.

THE WINDOWS in the earlier examples are plain, lancet-shaped, and generally narrow; sometimes they are richly moulded within and without (**90**), but frequently have nothing but a plain chamfer outside and a wide splay within: by means of this splay two or three windows which are completely separate on the outside are made to form one composition within, and two, three, or more lancets are sometimes included under one hood-mould on the outside (**91**). When there are three the middle one is generally the highest,

[1] Pat. 1 Hen. V., pp. 4 and 5. The Royal commission of Henry V. to Sir Richard Whittington to rebuild the nave, is printed by Mr. Lysons in the Appendix to "The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages," 8vo., Gloucester, 1860. Whittington appears to have advanced the money on the royal bonds, which he is said to have afterwards burnt, as a proof of his great wealth and generosity.



90. Polebrook, Northants, c. 1220.

Shewing the triple lancet with shafts, and the arches richly moulded.

or there is a trefoil or quatrefoil above: the spaces between these becoming afterwards pierced, led to the introduction of tracery.

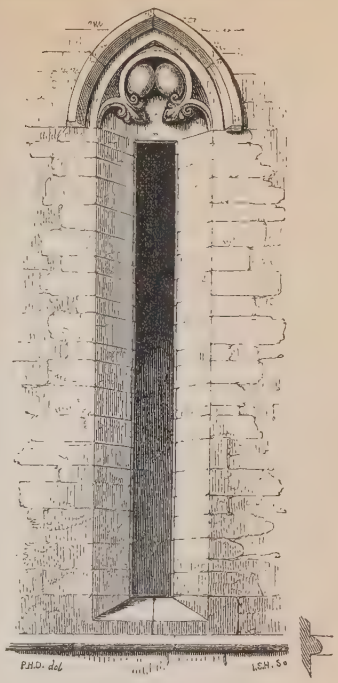
Square-headed windows are not at all uncommon in this style, more especially in castles and houses; but they frequently occur also in churches, as in the chancel of the small church of Cowley, near Oxford. Sometimes, when the central opening is square-headed, there is an arch or a dripstone in the form of an arch over it, with the space or tympanum filled up with ornament, as at Ringstead, Northants (**92**). But this arch over the square head is frequently wanting, and these simple square-headed windows of the thirteenth century, which are very common, especially in castles, are often mistaken for Perpendicular work of the fifteenth.

91. Warmington, Northamptonshire, c. 1230.

A triplet, or triple lancet window, under an arch or dripstone, with the eyes solid.

The origin of tracery may be carried back even to the Norman period; from the time that two lights were combined under one arch, a space was left between the heads of the lights and the arch, which was an eyesore that the architect tried to get rid of in the best way that he could. Thus at Sutton Courtney, in

Berkshire (38), in a window of the tower, which is late Norman work, the mouldings of the sub-arches are continued and carried across each other on the flat surface in the head of the window: if the spaces between these mouldings were pierced, we should have tracery. At St. Maurice's Church, York, in the west front, is a Norman window of two lights of the usual form, with a small round opening through the head, under the dripstone which supplies the place of the connecting arch over them (39). In the triforium arcade of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral, A.D. 1145, one of the compartments has plate-tracery of the same kind. In the tower of St. Giles's, Oxford, is a transitional Norman window of two lights, with a small lancet-shaped opening in the head, under the enclosing arch.



92. Ringstead, Northants.
Square-headed window.

In the Early English style we have, in the later examples, tracery in the heads of the windows, but it

is almost invariably in the form of circles, either plain or foliated (**93**), and is constructed in a different manner from genuine Decorated tracery. At first the windows have merely openings pierced through the solid masonry of the head[m], the solid portions thus left gradually becoming smaller and the openings larger, until the solid parts are reduced to nearly the same thickness as the mullions; but they are not moulded, and do not form continuations of the mullions until we arrive at real Decorated tracery.

93. Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxon, c. 1240. Shewing a window of two lights with a quatrefoil in the head of plate-tracery, and a dripstone terminated by the characteristic ornament called a mask, or a buckle.

At Linchmere, Sussex, a two-light Early English window of very early character has a large circular opening in the head, cut through the plain stone without any mouldings; at the Deanery, Lincoln, is a window of the same form, but well moulded, and having capitals to the shafts and to

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[m] This kind of tracery is called by Professor Willis *plate* tracery; being, in fact, a plate of stone pierced with holes: it is extensively used in Early French work. The more usual kind of tracery is called by Professor Willis *bar* tracery, to distinguish it from the earlier kind. These terms are so expressive and convenient that they are now generally adopted.

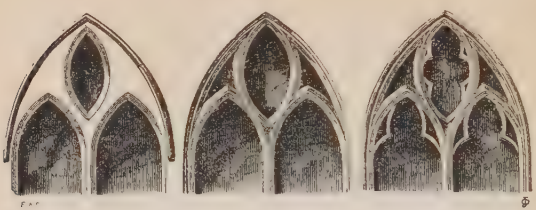
the mullions[n]. At Woodstock, Oxfordshire, a window on the south side is of the same form, with a quatrefoil introduced in the circle, and the heads of the lower lights trefoiled. At Moreton Pinckney, Northamptonshire, again, is the same form, but moulded, and the solid surface reduced so as to form actual tracery. At Solihull, Warwickshire, is the same form enriched with mouldings and cusps (**94**); at Aston-le-Walls the same form, with the opening larger: at Middleton Cheney, Oxfordshire, the same form; but the solid masonry is so much reduced as to form mere mullions, and this is actual tracery, though without cusps.

94. Solihull, Warwickshire, c. 1260.
An early example of bar-tracery with ornamented cusps.

At Glapthorn, Northamptonshire, and at Ashfordby,

[n] See "Glossary of Architecture," fourth edition, Oxford, 1860. Plates 230, 231, and 233.

Leicestershire[o], the opening is of the form called the "*vesica piscis*" (**95**). At Melton Mowbray is the same



95. Glapthorn. Ashfordby. Melton.

form cuspated. At Greetwell, near Lincoln, there is a lozenge in the head, quite plain. At Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire (**96**), is a remarkable window of three lancet-lights, with a quatrefoil opening over each light, enclosed under the dripstones, which are carried over each light separately, though the moulding is continued from one to the other. At Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, is a two-light lancet window with a pierced quatrefoil in the head, enriched with elegant cusps.

In the King's Hall at Winchester (**97**) the windows are each of two lights, with an open quatrefoil in the head; and there are sunk panels on each side of the windows, to fill up the blank space between them and the buttresses. The Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Wells (**98**), built by Bishop Jocelyne between 1225 and 1239, also has windows with foliated circles in the

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[o] For these three examples I am indebted to Mr. Freeman's work on the "Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England," 8vo., Oxford, 1851, which contains some hundreds of examples arranged systematically.

heads of quite as advanced a character. In the transept of Salisbury Cathedral, built between 1220 and

96. Wimborne Minster, Dorset, c. 1220.
Shewing an early stage of plate-tracery.

1250, is a good example of a window of four lancet-lights, with dripstone mouldings connecting them into one window of two divisions, each of two lights, with an open quatrefoil in the head, and a larger foliated

97. Castle Hall, Winchester, built A.D. 1222—1235 [p].

The window (inserted about 1260) has plate-tracery, consisting of a quatrefoil in the head, and the two lights have trefoil heads and transoms.

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[p] Sir Edward Smirke has shewn from the accounts published in the Winchester volumes of the Archæological Institute, 8vo., 1845, that this hall was built between 1222 and 1235, but the original windows were lancets only, as may be seen on the northern side, where some of the jambs remain in the wall. The windows of two lights with an open quatrefoil in the head, are part of an alteration half a century later. The first person to call my attention to this was my lamented friend, M. Felix Verneith, author of the excellent history of S. Front de Perigueux, and the other Byzantine churches of Perigord. He visited the hall with me in 1851, and he was one of the eminent French archæologists who went with me to see Lincoln Cathedral, and who pronounced without hesitation that there is

opening in the general head above: it is only necessary to reduce the quantity of solid masonry to

Exterior. Interior.

98. Side Windows in the Long Gallery at Bishop's Palace, Wells, on the first floor.

make this a good geometrical window. Windows of two lights, with a pierced quatrefoil in the head, are,

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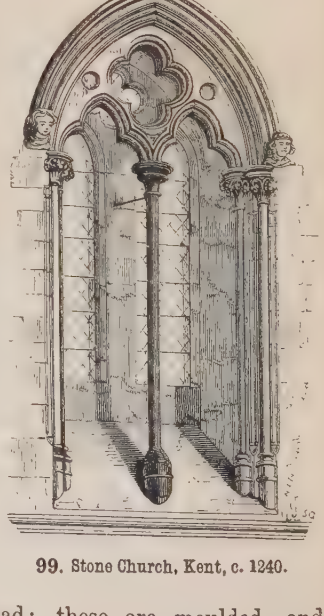
no French work there, but that the date I gave to it was impossible. At that time the exact history of each part of that very important building had not been made out, and I supposed the circular window at the north end to have been part of St. Hugh's work, which it clearly is not. It was this window also that M. Viollet-le-Duc said could not be earlier than 1220, and he was right. The thorough examination of this building that has now been made removes all the difficulty.

in fact, abundant in good Early English work of the second period [q]. The triforium arcade in the choir and transept of Westminster Abbey (**76**), built between 1245 and 1260, is a very rich example, with a double plane of ornament; the sub-arches are trefoiled, and in the head there are foliated circles with ornamented cusps; the whole of the surface is enriched with diaper. The presbytery at Lincoln, built between 1256 and 1282, is one of the richest examples of the Early English style in its latest form, approaching very closely to the Decorated. The chapter-house at Westminster, which was building in 1245, and the chapter-house and cloisters at Salisbury, built between 1250 and 1260, are of similar style, though not so rich.



99. Stone Church, Kent, c. 1240.

At Stone Church, Kent (**99**), is a window of two trefoil-headed openings with a quatrefoil in the head; these are moulded, and

[q] Each of the styles must naturally be divided into three periods,—early,—middle,—and late.

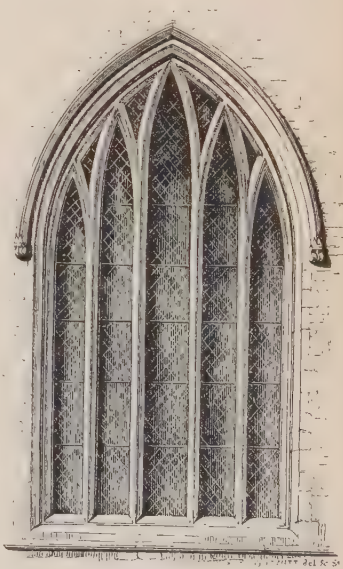
getting nearer to *bar* tracery. This window also shews what is called a double plane of ornament, the inner plane being much lighter and more enriched than the outer one. A very similar window occurs in the north aisle of St. Giles' Church, Oxford, which is at-

100. East Window, Raunds, Northamptonshire, c. 1260.
This window shews actual bar-tracery, but without cusps, excepting to the lower lights, which are trefoil-headed.

tributed to St. Hugh of Lincoln, who instituted a vicar to it in the year 1200, but it is probably later than that time.

At Strixton, Northamptonshire, is a triple lancet-window at the east end, with a quatrefoil opening, and

also three sunk quatrefoil panels in the gable (**118**.) These sunk panels are not uncommon in Early English work, and it is only necessary to draw them a little more closely together to enclose them under one arch, and pierce them to form good tracery. This is done in the next class, as at Raunds, Northamptonshire (**100**), and Acton Burnell, Shropshire: here we have windows of three lights, of four lights, and of six lights, with plain circles in the head, richly moulded. Many windows of this class originally had cusps, which have been cut out, and this is said to have been the case at Raunds: the early cusps were so constructed that they might be removed without leaving any distinct marks, and their absence would not be noticed if they were not known to have been there; this is not the case in real Decorated tracery,—but this class belongs to rather a later period than we have yet arrived at.



101. Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire, c. 1280.

Shewing five lancet windows under one arch, and the spandrels pierced, forming what are popularly called the eyes of the window.

There are good specimens of the sunk panels before mentioned at Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, and the west window of Raunds; both these are rich specimens, and only require the panels to be pierced to form good and elegant tracery.

Another class of windows in which the same gradual approach to tracery may be noticed, consists of three or more lancet-lights under one arch, the points of the sub-arches touching the enclosing arch; the spandrels at first solid, as at Oundle, Northamptonshire, afterwards pierced as at Irthlingborough (**101**): the subsequent addition of cusps makes this form into a pure Decorated window. In some instances the side-lights are lower than the centre lights, and have openings over them, as at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

102. St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, c. 1260. Shewing the mullions crossing in the head.

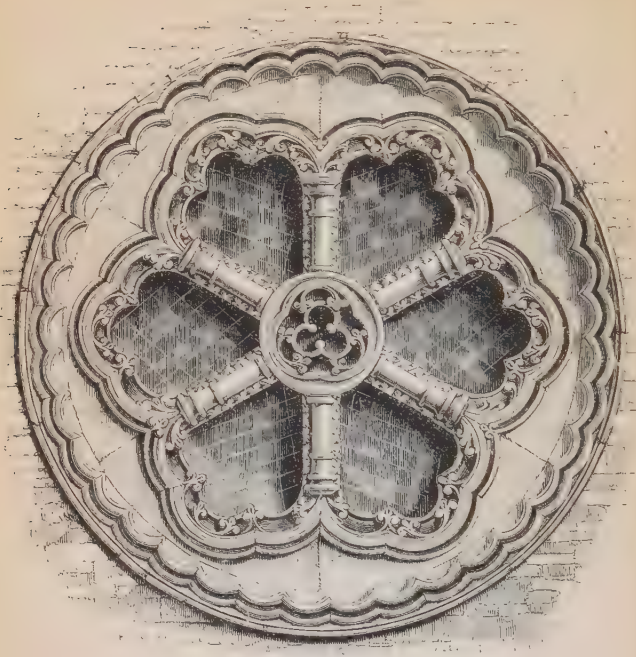
Another class has the mullions carried on through the head of the window, and intersecting each other: there are examples of this form in Early English work, late in the style, as at St. Mary-le-Wigford,

Lincoln (**102**), and it continued to be used throughout the Decorated period; an imitation of it is very common in comparatively modern work. When the spaces are foliated, as at Dorchester (**103**), it forms a good Decorated window: there is a curious early example

103. Dorchester, Oxfordshire, c. 1275.

of this form, in which the intersecting arches are struck from the same centres as the window-head, and with trefoils introduced in the openings, at Rushden, Northamptonshire.

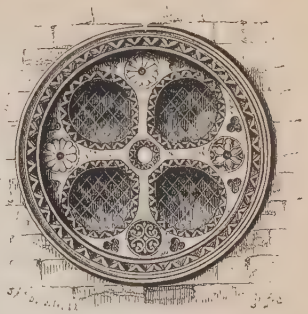
Circular windows also afford a fine series of the gra-



Peterborough Cathedral, A.D. 1240.

This is a very beautiful example of rich Early English work of the best period, about the middle of the thirteenth century, a little more advanced than the one from Beverley. Such very rich examples as these are not common: the sculpture of the foliage ornament is beautifully executed. Although such exquisite examples cannot be expected to be found very often; yet *at the same period* we frequently find attempts at it, even in comparatively poor parish churches.

dual approach to tracery; there are many fine Norman specimens filled with a sort of wheel pattern, as at Barfreston in Kent. At St. James's Church, Bristol, is a good example of a somewhat different kind, still more resembling tracery. The beautiful Early English circular window at Peterborough is almost of the same general pattern as the Norman one at Barfreston. The glorious window in the north transept of Lincoln, *c.* 1220 (**74**), is of somewhat later character, and though not strictly corresponding with the definition of tracery, can hardly be distinguished from it[r]. The natural successors to these are the splendid Decorated circular windows (**104**), commonly called marigold-windows, and Catherine-wheel windows, and rose-windows, which are the glory of so many of the foreign cathedrals, and of which we have many fine examples at home, as in Westminster Abbey, the south transept of Lincoln, Boynton in Wiltshire, Cheltenham, &c.



104. Beverley Minster, c. 1220. This shews a rather unusual form of window, with the abundant use of the tooth-ornament.

The series of small windows in gables and in clerestories must not be overlooked; they are sometimes foliated circles, of which a good example occurs at

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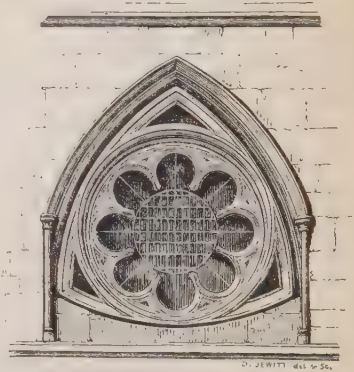
[r] It is a fine example of plate-tracery as distinguished from bar-tracery, according to Professor Willis's definitions.

Hargrave, Northamptonshire, with the points of the cusps formed into a round moulding, or bowtell (**105**); sometimes trefoils or spherical triangles, of which we have a very rich example in the south transept of Westminster Abbey, where the spherical triangle is made to inclose a foliated circle (**106**): the same gradual progress towards regular tracery may be noticed in these as in the other classes.

105. Hargrave, Northamptonshire, c. 1220.
A quatrefoil opening enclosed in a circular panel, the points of the cusps ornamented.

Cusps form so important a part of tracery, that it is almost necessary to point out their succession and variety also. They may be found occasionally, though rarely, in Norman work. In the Early English period they are abundant, and frequently ornamented with sculpture, or foliage, or heads: but they are attached to the lower surface or soffit of the mullion, or tracery bar (**107**),



106. Westminster Abbey, A.D. 1250.
Spherical window inclosing a foliated circle.

and do not seem to grow out of it, and form part of it, in the same manner as they do in Decorated work.

107. Cusp.
Raunds, Northamptonshire.

We have thus endeavoured to point out some of the principal ways by which tracery was arrived at, and to shew that the progress was so gradual, step by step, without any hiatus, that there is no necessity to look abroad for any specimens to fill up gaps in the series. The same steps seem to have been taken simultaneously in foreign countries, or we may have copied particular forms, but there is no evidence that we borrowed the whole system from them. The usual test of the importation of a new style is a decided leap from one style to another, and this was clearly not the case with the introduction of tracery into England.

The origin of tracery has been much discussed, and it is commonly asserted that the French and the Germans had considerably the start of England in this particular and important part of Gothic architecture, if not in the whole style. This is, however, by no means a settled point, but one fairly open to further investigation. It has been already observed, in speaking of the change from the Romanesque styles to the earliest Gothic, that its progress was very nearly simultaneous in England and in the northern parts of Europe. It is difficult to obtain accurate dates of the precise parts of any building even in England, and still more difficult in foreign countries; windows are often inserted, and the tracery of windows is not unfrequently of a different age from the arch and jambs; it therefore requires more careful investigation than we have yet had applied to this subject before it can be decided satisfactorily.

A kind of tracery is however used in the Romanesque style in the Rhine churches of Germany, apparently before it was used either in France or England.

Like all other parts of Gothic architecture, tracery appears to have grown gradually and naturally from the necessity of supplying a want that was felt.

The Chapter-house at Westminster, as has been mentioned, has windows with foliated circles in the head of actual bar-tracery; and the date of these windows has been ascertained, by the building accounts preserved in the Public Record-office, to be about 1245. This is the same date as the celebrated Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which is commonly cited as the earliest example of actual tracery, considered as the climax of perfect Gothic. The windows in the apse of the Cathedral of Rheims are of the same character, and are usually supposed to be considerably earlier; but Wilars de Honecort, an architect of Picardy, who was living at the same time that Rheims was building, has left us a sketch of this apse as it was intended to be by his friend the original architect of that magnificent church, and it is evident that those windows containing tracery are an alteration of the original plan, and consequently of rather later date, which brings them to the same period with the other examples[a]. The monks entered the choir of Rheims in 1241.

The progress in the two countries was so nearly simultaneous that it is often difficult to say which had the priority; but in the question of tracery the priority is generally given to France, and in lancet windows and light clustered pillars to the English. In general, the actual date has much more to do with the style than the particular country or province; although both these have an influence, it is altogether subordinate to the date. When the style of any building is very much in advance of other buildings of the period to which it is assigned, we may generally conclude that the date is wrong, or that the church has been silently rebuilt at a subsequent period, as is the case in hundreds of instances. The date of foundation only proves that there can be nothing *earlier* than that date, but is no proof that the building has not been entirely reconstructed at a sub-

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[a] See the Sketch-Book of Wilars de Honecort, edited by Professor Willis, 4to., 1860, pl. lix., p. 209.

sequent period, or that it was completed immediately after the foundation. Amiens Cathedral, begun in 1220, was not completed until 1288. The church of St. Francis at Assissi, in Italy, founded in 1228, has tracery in the windows, and this has been considered by some persons as the earliest example; but on examination of the building it is evident that the side-chapels of the lower church are additions, probably of the following century, and that the windows of the upper church were inserted at the same time as these lower chapels were built. Part of the original triforium gallery remains, both at the east and west ends, and is cut through by the present windows. The beautiful paintings with which the walls and the jambs of the windows are covered are evidently original, and are in the style of the fourteenth century. The small church of St. Clara, in the same town, was built by the same architect after the large church was completed, and has not been altered: it has single lancet windows.

Cologne Cathedral is also cited as an early example of geometrical tracery; but although the foundations were laid in 1248, it was not consecrated until 1327, and the tracery of the windows is likely to have been one of the latest parts of the work: the style of this church is evidently French, and there is no probability that either Italy or Germany had any priority of style. The real question is between the Royal Domain of France and England, including the English provinces: well-informed German antiquaries who have studied this interesting question, give the priority of style to Paris and St. Denis; a comparison of authenticated dates makes this rather doubtful, or at least shews that if Suger, at St. Denis, was the inventor, as is said, of the principles which led to the Gothic style, his example was very speedily followed, and not at all confined to the Royal Domain.

It would not be difficult to form a series of French examples similar to the English series we have given above, shewing the origin and gradual progress of tracery without any hiatus in that country also. The steps would be somewhat different, and the forms arrived at not precisely the same, for there is almost always a difference between French tracery and English tracery, and there is no reason to suppose that one country copied the other exactly. A simultaneous progress was going on in both

countries, and though it is probable that the English architects took many ideas from the French, it is evident that they adapted them and moulded them to suit their own style, and did not crudely copy portions of French buildings and stick them on to English ones. The styles of the two countries were distinct at all periods, and the English had developed a style of their own; and although they made free use of any new inventions or discoveries on the Continent, they grafted them on to their own work, so that they appeared to grow naturally out of it. Whether the same gradual, uninterrupted progress can be traced in any other country besides France and England, is a question which has not yet been sufficiently investigated for a decisive answer to be given to it.

It is certain that there is a much greater variety of tracery in England than in any foreign country. In France the same patterns are constantly repeated, and those patterns would, in England, belong to an earlier period. These patterns, chiefly trefoils and quatrefoils, continued in use in France for a century later than in England, in the style which corresponds to our Decorated, and then they run off into the other extreme, and to the wild flowing, flame-like lines of the Flamboyant style, which corresponds to our Perpendicular in date, and is chiefly of the sixteenth century. In Germany and Belgium there is more doubt on this point; some of their tracery seems very early, perhaps earlier than ours; this subject has never been thoroughly worked out. It is singular that the best modern architects generally fail in the attempt to produce good Gothic tracery, while in all other respects they have succeeded in thoroughly good imitation of the old work, and even rival it in design.

The Doorways are generally pointed or trefoiled, but sometimes round-headed, and in small doorways frequently flat-headed, with the angles corbelled in the form called the square-headed trefoil, or the shouldered arch.

This form of opening is frequently called the Carnarvon arch, from its being so generally used in that castle; but it is often of earlier date, though it also

continued in use for a long period. The rather happy name of the 'shouldered arch' was given to it; strictly speaking, it is not an arch at all, and the shouldered lintel, or the corbelled lintel, would perhaps be more correct.

108. Lutton, Huntingdonshire, c. 1200.

The round-arched dooorways may readily be distinguished by their mouldings; they are commonly early in the style, but by no means always so: segmental arches also occur, though rarely. The larger doorways are generally deeply recessed and richly moulded, and in the best examples both the arches and jambs are enriched with the tooth-ornament and foliage; the

jambs have likewise shafts with sculptured capitals. They are sometimes double.

The west doorway of St. Cross Church, near Win-

109. St. Cross, Hampshire, c. 1250.

Doorway, shewing an obtuse arch richly moulded, with a dripstone terminated by corbels of foliage, and with the tooth-ornament: two sub-arches trefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head.

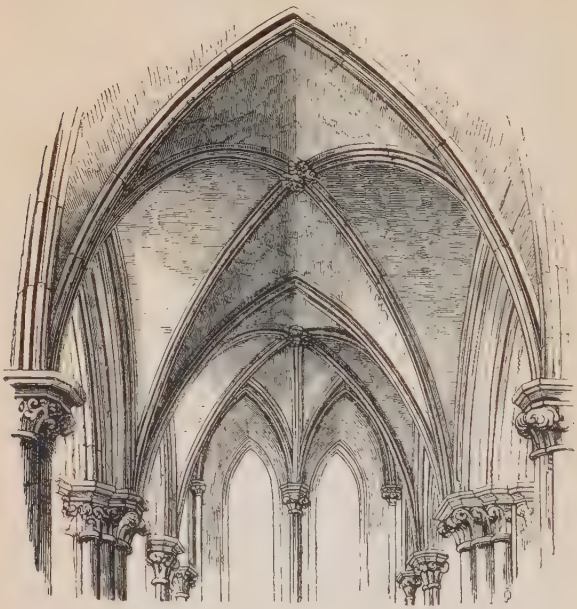
chester (**109**), is double, with two trefoil-headed openings under one obtuse arch, and a pierced quatrefoil in the head, bearing considerable resemblance to the windows of the King's Hall, Winchester (**97**), and is probably of the same date.

THE PORCHES are frequently shallow, but there are many fine porches of the usual projection; these have sometimes very lofty gables, as at Barnack, Northamptonshire (**110**). The outer doorways are often

110. Barnack, Northamptonshire, c. 1250.

much enriched with mouldings and shafts of great depth, and the walls are ornamented on the inside with arcades and tracery.

The Vaults are distinguished from the Norman by their greater boldness, and from succeeding styles by their greater simplicity, as at Salisbury (**111**).

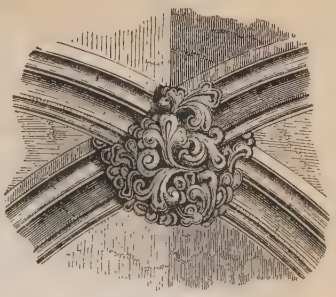


111. Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1240.

Early English vault, groined, with moulded ribs on the groins only.

In the earlier examples there are ribs on the angles of the groins only; at a later period the vaulting becomes more complicated, as at Westminster. There is a longitudinal rib, and a cross rib along the ridge of the cross vaults, and frequently also an interme-

diate rib on the surface of the vault. The bosses (**112**) are rare at first, more abundant afterwards: they are generally well worked and enriched with foliage.



112. Lincoln Cathedral, c. 1220. Boss, north aisle of nave.

Early English vaults are sometimes of wood only, as in York Minster, and at Warmington, Northamptonshire, and the cloisters at Lincoln. A vault is, in fact, a ceiling, having always an outer roof over it; and there is no necessity for its being of stone, although it is obviously better that it should usually be so, as a security against fire, which was the chief motive for the introduction of stone vaults. The rather incorrect use of the word 'roof' by Mr. Rickman, as applied to vaults, has led to some confusion of ideas on this subject.

The Buttresses, instead of being, as in the last style, mere strips of masonry slightly projecting from the wall, have now a very bold projection, and generally diminish upwards by stages, terminating either in a pedimental head, or gable, or in a plain sloping set-off, as at Beaulieu, Hampshire (**113**). The angles are frequently broadly chamfered, and sometimes ornamented with shafts, either solid or detached.

The pinnacles terminating the buttresses are at

first sometimes square, as at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire (**64**), which is of transitional Norman character: they are not very numerous in the Early English style, and often consist merely of an octagonal shaft with a pyramidal capping; afterwards, particularly in large buildings, they are either round or octagonal, with shafts at the angles, sometimes supporting small arches, and terminating in a plain conical capping ending in a bunch of foliage or other ornament as a finial, as at Peterborough (**114**).

113. Beaulieu, Hampshire, c. A.D. 1260.

114. Peterborough Cathedral, A.D. 1238.

The Flying Buttress now becomes a prominent feature in large buildings. It is often found in Norman work, but concealed under the roof of the triforium, as at Durham, Winchester, and many other fine Norman buildings; but in this style it is carried up higher, and is altogether external, spanning over the roof of the aisle, and carrying the weight and consequent thrust of the vault over the central space

obliquely down to the external buttresses, and so to the ground, as at Hartlepool, Durham (**115**). There is a very fine example of a compound flying buttress at Westminster Abbey, which supports the vaults of the choir, the triforium, and the aisles, and carries the thrust of the whole over the cloister to the ground. But they did not become common until after this period. There is a marked difference between the flying buttresses of English buildings and those of French work of the same time; the English are far more elegant: large French buildings often appear as if they were surrounded by a scaffolding of stone.

115. Hartlepool, Durham, c. 1220.

Flying buttress, the short pinnacle and the set-off both terminated by coping.

The Corbel-Tables sometimes consist, as in the earlier period, merely of blocks supporting a straight, projecting course of stone which carries the front of the parapet (**116**); but more commonly, especially as the style advanced, small trefoil arches are introduced between the corbels, and these become more enriched and less bold, as at Notley Abbey, Bucks (**117**), until, in the succeeding style, this feature is altogether merged in the cornice mouldings.

THE FRONTS of Early English buildings before the introduction of tracery, and consequently before the

116. Beverley Minster, c. 1220.

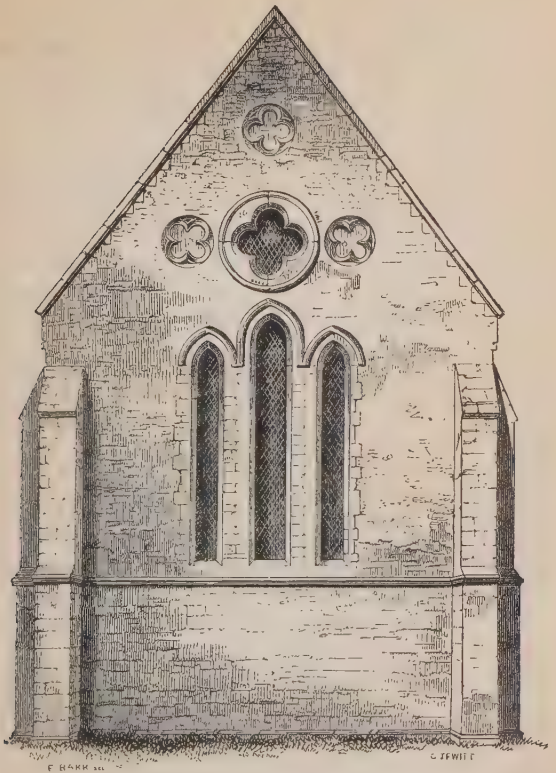
The corbels have the ornament called a buckle or mask; the horizontal projecting table, or tablet, carried by the corbels, has the tooth-ornament.

117. Notley Abbey, Bucks, c. 1250.

Trefoiled corbel-table.

use of large windows, have a very peculiar appearance, very different from those of the preceding or succeeding styles. In small churches a common arrangement is to have either three lancet windows, or two with a buttress between them; but in both cases there is frequently over them a quatrefoil or small circular window foliated, or sunk panels of the same form, but not

pierced as windows. In large buildings there are frequently two or three tiers of lancet windows, and a rich circular window in the gable above. Many



118. Strixton, Northamptonshire, c. 1220.

Shewing a gable-end with corner buttresses, a triplet with a string-course under it, and over it a quatrefoil opening with three sunk panels quatrefoiled.

small parish churches of this style have east or west fronts deserving attention; in the east front there is most frequently a triplet of lancet lights, and the same arrangement is usual in the fronts of the north and south transepts, and at the west end also, when there is no tower. Sometimes the lancets are small, and have a small window over them in the gable, as at Strixton, Northamptonshire (**118**), which also has the sunk panels, and is a valuable specimen of plain Early English work throughout. In later examples the window is usually of three or more lights, separated only by mullions, with circles in the head, either with or without foliation, as at Raunds, Northamptonshire, and Acton Burnell, Shropshire. The west front of Nun Monkton Church, Yorkshire, affords a very singular example of the combination of a small tower with the west gable, over a fine triplet. The west front of Durston Church, Northamptonshire, is a good plain example with a triplet.

The East End is almost invariably square in Early English work, although we have a few examples of the apsidal termination, generally a half-octagon, or half-hexagon, as in Westminster Abbey, and several other large churches. In the small parish churches this form is very rare: an example occurs at Tidmarsh, near Pangbourne, Berks, an elegant little structure, the roof of which has been carefully restored. On the Continent the apsidal form is almost universal at this period; but this is only one of many variations between English and foreign Gothic.

EARLY ENGLISH TOWERS are in general more lofty than the Norman, and are readily distinguished by their buttresses, which have a greater projection. In the earlier examples an arcade is frequently carried round the upper story, some of the arches of which are pierced for windows: but in later buildings the windows are more often double, and are frequently very fine compositions. The tower generally termi-

119. Ringstead Church, Northants., c. 1260.

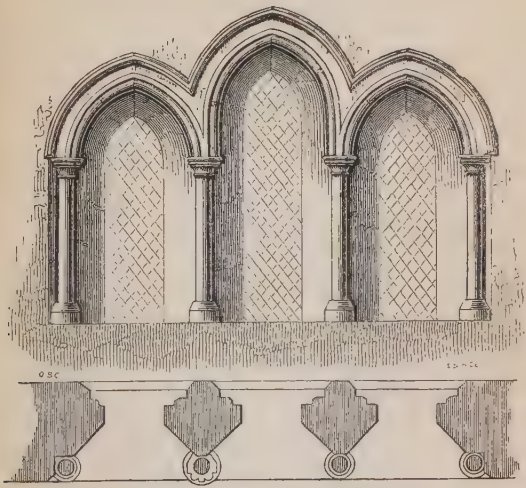
Shewing a broach spire with the squinches visible connecting the angles of the square tower with the octagonal spire, and three tiers of spire-lights. The weather-moulding of the original roof is visible above the present roof.

nates in a SPIRE, which in some districts, especially in Northamptonshire, does not rise from within a parapet, but is of the form usually called a broach spire (**119**), of which there are several varieties. In other districts the towers are terminated by original parapets; these probably had wooden spires rising within the parapet, which occasionally but rarely remain, and are a good feature, as at Ilton, Somerset. Pinnacles are sometimes inserted at the angles, and produce a very good effect.

The general appearance of Early English buildings is magnificent and rich, rather from the number of parts than from the details. In those buildings where very long windows are used there is a grandeur arising from the height of the divisions; in the smaller buildings there is much simplicity of appearance, but the work all appears well designed and carefully executed.

Houses and castles of the Early English style are quite as rare as those of the Norman, or perhaps more so. By far the finest example is the Bishop's Palace at Wells, built by Bishop Jocelyne, 1205—1242. The lower story, or ground-floor, of this is vaulted, and was used chiefly for cellars and store-rooms, the dwelling apartments being on the first floor, as was the usual custom of the period. The windows in the ground floor are single lancets; those in the upper floor are very fine, of two lights, trefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head, and marble shafts in the jambs. The King's Hall at Winchester has been already mentioned; it is of about the same period, 1222—1235. The remains of Somerton Castle, Lincolnshire, belong also to the earlier division of this style: the only parts perfect are the round towers at the corners, in one of which is a vaulted chamber with a central pillar, like a small chapter-house. Of Windsor Castle of the time of Henry III. we have part of the curtain-

wall and two round towers, in one of which is a vaulted chamber, probably the prison. There are similar chambers in some of the round corner towers or bastions in the Tower of London, and a remarkably perfect one, also a prison chamber, in Lincoln Castle, called Cobbe's Hall, also of the time of Henry III. There are some small remains of the manor-house of Cogges, Oxfordshire, including two good windows of about this period, probably built by Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, who gave the manor to his nephew, Grey of Rotherfield.



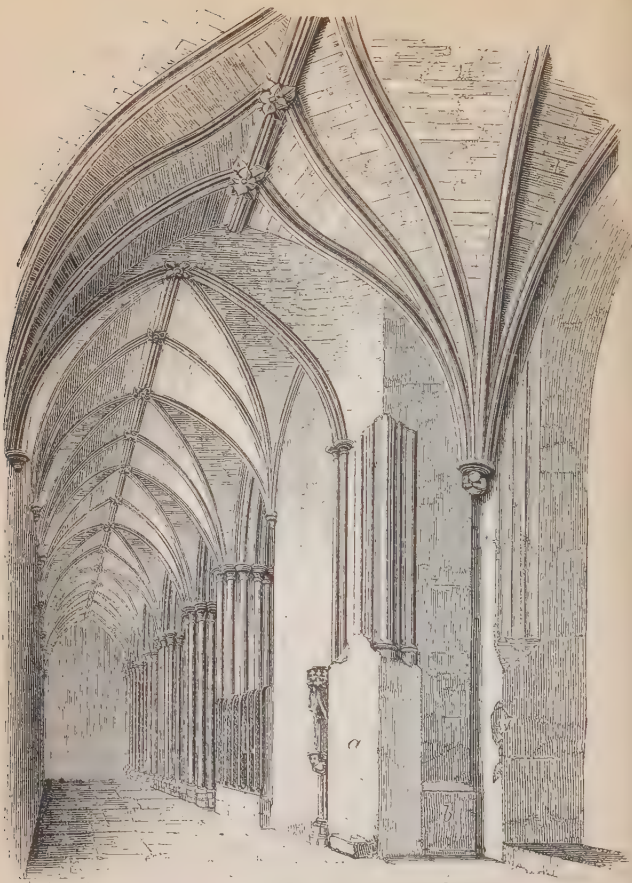
120. Window at the west end of the Hall of the King's Palace at Winchester, A.D. 1222—1235.

The remains of the manor-house at Cottesford, Oxfordshire, and of a small house at Sutton Courtney, Berkshire, are a little earlier than Cogges. Those of the parsonage-house at West Tarring and the manor-house at Crowhurst, Sussex, and the archdeacon's house at Peterborough, appear to belong also to the first half of the thirteenth century. Of the later division of

this style, or the latter half of the thirteenth century, but before the Edwardian castles, we have some fine and interesting examples. Aydon Hall or Castle, Northumberland, is rather a fortified manor-house than a castle. Stoke Say Castle, in Shropshire, is another of the same kind, and with the hall perfect. Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk, is another very interesting and perfect example, and the more remarkable as being of brick, and the bricks of the form and size now used, not large and flat like the Roman bricks or tiles which continued to be used in the twelfth century. Woodcroft Castle, Northamptonshire, is a very remarkable and foreign-looking building of this period. There are remains of houses of this style at Acton Burnell, Shropshire; Godmersham, Kent; Longthorp, Northamptonshire; Charney, Berkshire; West Dean, Sussex; and Oakham, Rutland, called Flore's House. There are also considerable remains of monastic buildings of this style.

The most celebrated and best examples of the Early English style have already been referred to in describing the different parts, beginning with Canterbury, A.D. 1284, when the style was not quite fully developed. The next historical example to this is the choir and transepts of the small parish Church of Clee, in Lincolnshire, at the mouth of the Humber, which is important, because there is a contemporary inscription stating that it was dedicated in 1192 by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, (St. Hugh of Grenoble). This inscription could apply only to those parts of the church of Clee which are earlier in style, but only a little earlier, than St. Hugh's choir. The original parts of Lincoln are the earliest, and still one of the best, examples; and it has been mentioned that care must be taken to distinguish the parts that are really of the time of St. Hugh of Grenoble, that is, before the year 1200, from the later parts, though there is little difference in style; this is important historically in the controversy with France, as to which country had the priority.

Nearly simultaneous with St. Hugh's choir we have the work of the time of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy at Winchester, consisting of the Presbytery and Lady-chapel, a part of the great Abbey Church of St. Alban's, consisting of the western doorway, and part of the porch, and the western end of the nave. The Galilee porch at Ely, the work of Bishop Eustace, 1198—1200,



Cathedral, Chester, South Aisle of Choir, A.D. 1284.

This is a good example of the vaulting of the Early English style, at its best period, just before the change into the Decorated.

bears a striking resemblance to Lincoln; there is also a parish church at Ely of the same character. A considerable part of Worcester Cathedral was built between 1203 and 1218, consisting of the choir and presbytery with the aisles, which are fine Early English work, and, though much restored from the bad quality of the stone, the restoration has been carefully executed. The choir and transepts of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, were built between 1205 and 1212 by Abbot John of York. The choir and transepts of Rochester Cathedral, built by the sacristan William de Hoo, is another fine and elegant example, with some peculiarities. Salisbury Cathedral is usually referred to as *the type* par eminence of the style, because the later additions have been destroyed, so as to leave only, as we have it, a more perfect whole, all of this style, and it belongs to the period when the style was fully established, that is, from 1220 to 1260. The choir and transepts of Westminster Abbey (commenced in 1245, and suspended also about 1261) are another admirable example of the Early English style, with a slight admixture of the Early French in the buttresses, which partake of the scaffolding character of the French buttresses. The west front of Wells Cathedral is the richest example of the kind anywhere; it is entirely covered with successive bands of sculpture, and the niches or canopies are worked with all the characteristic details of the style. It is also an early example, the work of Bishop Jocelyne, A.D. 1213—1229. The work was considered by Professor Cockerell as superior to any similar work on the Continent; he was well acquainted with Italy, which has nothing to compare with it *of the same period*. The French work in the porches, both at Amiens and Rheims, is later.

The cruciform plan, which had been introduced in the Norman period, was continued in the Early English, in which were frequently added chapels for altars on the east side of the transept, as in Lincoln, and at the east end of the choir in the nine altars at Durham, 1242—1290. Ashburn Church, Derbyshire, which is dated A.D. 1241 by an inscription in brass let into one of the columns, is a fine parish church of this style. Parish churches of this style and of this period are very common in some parts of the country, as in Kent, Northamptonshire, and Yorkshire; but it is not easy to ascertain their dates exactly, excepting by

the principle of comparison with the cathedrals and great monastic churches, which are always dated historically. The north transept of York Minster is a well-known example, and Skelton Church is a small parish church built by the same person. The presbytery of Ely Cathedral, built by Bishop Hugh Northwold, 1235—1252, is another very marked and rich example, also the choir of the Temple Church in London, consecrated in 1240.

CHAPTER V.

The Decorated Style.

Edward I., II., and III. A.D. 1272—1377.

THE change from the Early English to the Decorated style was so very gradual, that it is impossible to draw any line where one style ceases and the other begins. Some persons, indeed, deny that it is a distinct style at all; but whatever may be the case as a matter of abstract theory, or on philosophical principles, all are agreed that as a matter of practical convenience the distinction is useful and necessary. It has its own very characteristic features; the windows, doorways, buttresses, mouldings, and sculpture are all different from those of either the preceding or the following style. On the other hand, some have proposed to divide this style into two—the geometrical style, and the flowing style; but here the distinction is not sufficiently broad to constitute two distinct styles, although, as sub-divisions of the same style, these terms were used by Rickman himself, and are useful. But these two divisions are so frequently contemporaneous, and run into each other so continually, that it is almost impossible to separate them in practice: the windows may indeed be distinguished, though even in these we often find windows with geometrical tracery and others with flowing tracery side by side in the same building, with the same mouldings and details, and evidently built at the same time; and no distinction can be drawn in doorways and buttresses. It is better, therefore, to continue to use the received division of styles, and the received names for them. We must always bear in mind that each style is naturally subdivided into early, middle, and late, and that the early is often mixed with the previous style, the later with the subsequent one. There is no broad line of distinction and of division in medieval buildings, it was one continual progress or decline; the divisions are arbitrary, but very convenient in practice.

The Decorated Style is distinguished by its large windows divided by mullions, and the tracery either

in flowing lines, or forming circles, trefoils, and other geometrical figures, and not running perpendicularly; its ornaments are numerous and very delicately carved, more strictly faithful to nature and more essentially parts of the structure than in any other style. In small country churches, however, there are perhaps more very plain churches of this style than of any other; still the windows have the essential decoration of tracery. The ornament is also part of the construction, a point in which it differs from the other styles; an Early English cusp may be inserted or omitted in the tracery, a Decorated one cannot.

Decorated tracery is usually divided into three general classes—geometrical, flowing, and flamboyant; the variety is so great, that many subdivisions may be made, but they were all used simultaneously for a considerable period [a].

The earliest Decorated windows have geometrical tracery; Exeter Cathedral is, perhaps, on the whole, the best typical example of the early part of this style [b]. The fabric rolls are preserved, and it is now evident that the existing windows are, for the most part, of the time of Bishop Quivil, from 1279 to 1291. The windows all have geometrical patterns, and some

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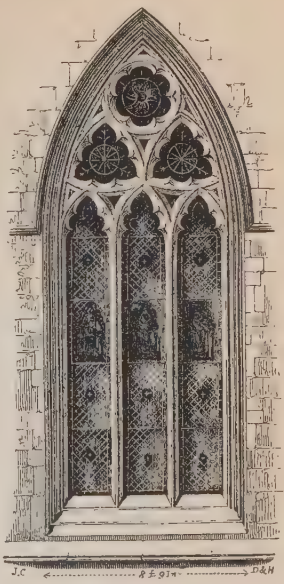
[a] See the excellent work of Mr. E. A. Freeman, on Window Tracery, in which he gives several hundred varieties carefully drawn and systematically arranged. 8vo., Oxford, 1851. There is no similar work for the Continent.

[b] They have been carefully examined and applied by Archdeacon Freeman, one of the Canons of the Cathedral, who has studied it carefully for years. His history of it forms an excellent continuation of Professor Willis's admirable "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral."

of these are identical with those of Merton College Chapel, Oxford (**121**)[c]. There can be little doubt that the east window and the side walls and windows of this choir must have been completed before 1290. The sacristy, to which the bursars' rolls give the positive date of 1307, is certainly twenty years later in character than the choir. The tower-arches were not erected until 1330, and the transept was not completed until 1424, the tower not till 1450; these were built by the college, the design for the nave and aisles being abandoned.



121. Merton College Chapel, Oxford, A.D. 1280—1290.
Shewing geometrical tracery.

The chapter-house at York (**122**), with the passage to it, is a fine example, the exact date of which is still disputed, but

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[c] The date of 1277 has long been assigned to this, because the work has evidently been left unfinished for a long period, and this was supposed to have been caused by the sudden death of the founder, Walter de Merton, who was drowned in that year; and the mention in the bursars' rolls of a few shillings for a temporary altar about that time is supposed to agree with this. The choir of the chapel was not paid for by the college, and it is now considered that this was built between 1280 and 1290, and paid for by the executors of the founder.

it is probably between 1260 and 1280. The chapter-house of Southwell is another rich xample. As a general rule, it may be observed that the buildings of the time of Edward the First have geometrical tracery in the windows and panelling, and are of early Decorated character: the Eleanor crosses and the tomb of Queen Eleanor at Westminster, are among the best examples of this style; they were all executed between 1291 and 1294, as appears by the builders' accounts, which are still extant, and were carefully edited by Mr. Hudson Turner, and printed at the expense of Mr. Beriah Botfield, for the Roxburgh Club. The names of the builders and sculptors shew that they were almost entirely natives, and not foreigners, as has been often asserted. One name only, William Torel, has been supposed to be the same as William Torelli, the Florentine, a painter who was employed at the same time on some other works in England, but there is no evidence of this being the case; while other names, as Alexander of Abingdon, "the imagineur," or sculptor, William the Irishman, Richard and Roger of Crundale, in Kent, sufficiently prove the employment of natives.

122. Passage to the Chapter-house, York, c. 1260—1280.
Shewing geometrical tracery.

As additional examples of this style may be mentioned the hall of Acton Burnell Castle, Shropshire, built by Bishop Bur-

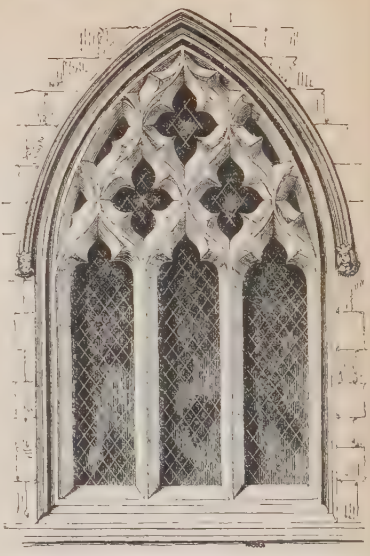
nell, between 1274 and 1292; and the ruins of his magnificent banqueting-hall in the bishop's palace at Wells: St. Ethelbert's gate-house and part of the cathedral at Norwich, rebuilt after the riots in 1275, and re-consecrated by Bishop Middleton in 1278. The chapter-house of Wells was built in the time of Bishop William de Marchia, 1292—1302. The nave of York was commenced in 1291 and continued until 1340, the same style being adhered to: the windows have geometrical tracery.

The work of Prior Henry de Estria, at Canterbury, in 1304-5, belongs also to this style. An instance of the use of geometrical tracery at a later period occurs at Canterbury, in St. Anselm's Chapel, the contract for which (A.D. 1336) is extant.

Many windows of this style, especially in the time of Edward I., have the rear arch ornamented with cusps, with a hollow space over the head of the window in the thickness of the wall, between the rear arch and the outer arch, as at Piddington, Oxfordshire (**123**). This feature was not continued in the Perpendicular style, when the arch usually has a wide and flat shallow moulding only.

123. Piddington, Oxfordshire, c. 1300.
Shewing a cuspated rear arch.

Windows with flowing tracery, and those with reticulated, or net-like forms (**124**), are in general somewhat later than the geometrical patterns; at least, they do not seem to have been introduced quite so early; but they are very frequently contemporaneous, and both classes may often be found side by side in the same building, evidently erected at the same time. An early instance of this occurs at Stoke Golding, in Leicestershire, built between 1275 and 1290, as appears by an inscription still remaining: the windows have mostly geometrical tracery, but several have flowing [d]. Several churches in Northamptonshire have windows with tracery alternately geometrical and flowing. The same mixture occurs in the glorious churches of Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, and St. Mary's, Beverley. Bray Church,

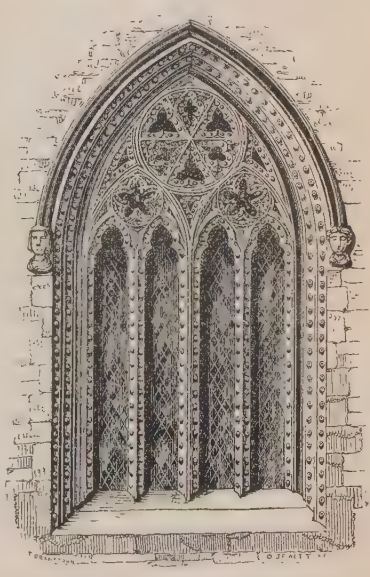


124. St. Mary Magdalen Church, Oxford, c. 1320. Shewing flowing tracery with cusps, of the variety called reticulated, or net-like.

[d] Good engravings of this church are published in Weale's Quarterly Papers. London, 1843-45, 4 vols. 4to.

Berkshire, rebuilt between 1293 and 1300, also presents the same mixture. In some instances windows with geometrical tracery have the mouldings and the mullions covered with the ball-flower ornament in great profusion, even to excess: these examples occur chiefly in Herefordshire, as at Leominster (**125**); and in Gloucestershire, as in the south aisle of the nave of the Cathedral at Gloucester: they are for the most part, if not entirely, of the time of Edward II.

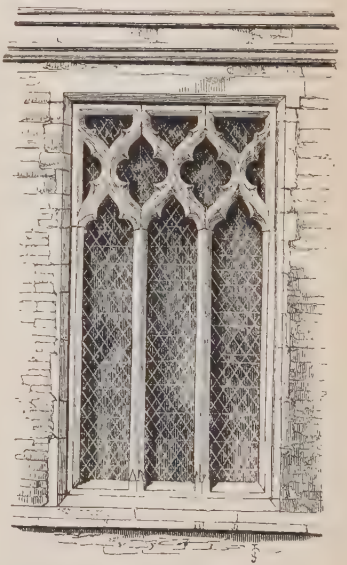
There is a very fine window, with reticulated tracery and richly moulded, in the south wall of the cloisters at Westminster. No rule whatever is followed in the form of the arch over windows in this style; some are very obtuse, others very acute, and the ogee arch is not uncommon. The inner arch, or rear arch, is also frequently of a different shape and proportions to the outer one: there is also frequently, as we have seen (**123**), a series of open cusps hanging from it, called hanging foliation; this is an elegant feature of the



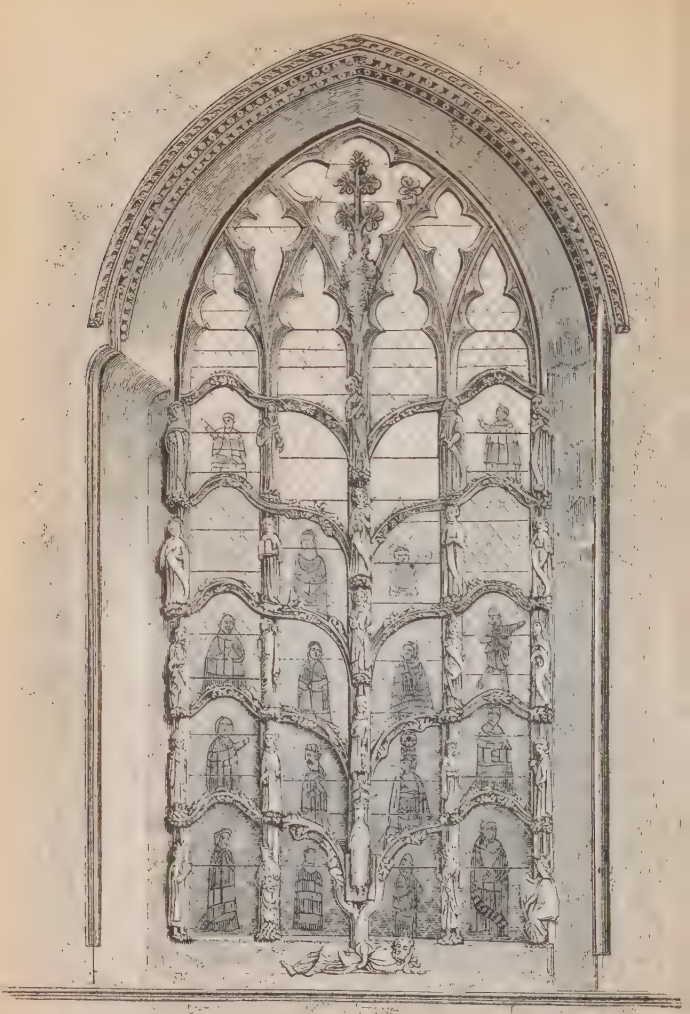
125. Leominster, Herefordshire, c. 1320. Shewing the profusion of the ball-flower.

Decorated style. It is more common in some parts of the country than in others: this feature seems to have taken the place of the inner plane of decoration, with tracery and shafts, of the Early English style, as at Stone, Kent (**99**); and it disappears altogether in the succeeding style.

Square-headed windows are very common in this style in many parts of the country, especially in Leicestershire and in Oxfordshire, as at Dorchester (**126**). This form of window is so convenient that it was never entirely discontinued, though more commonly used in houses and castles than in churches. Windows with a flat segmental arch are also frequently used in this style, as at Over, Cambridgeshire (**127**); and the dripstone, or projecting moulding over the window to throw off the wet, is sometimes omitted, especially in domestic work. Circular windows are also a fine feature of this style, chiefly used at the ends of the transepts in large churches, or at the west end in small ones. A rare instance of an east



126. Dorchester, Oxfordshire, c. 1330. Square-headed.



Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon.
The Jesse Window.

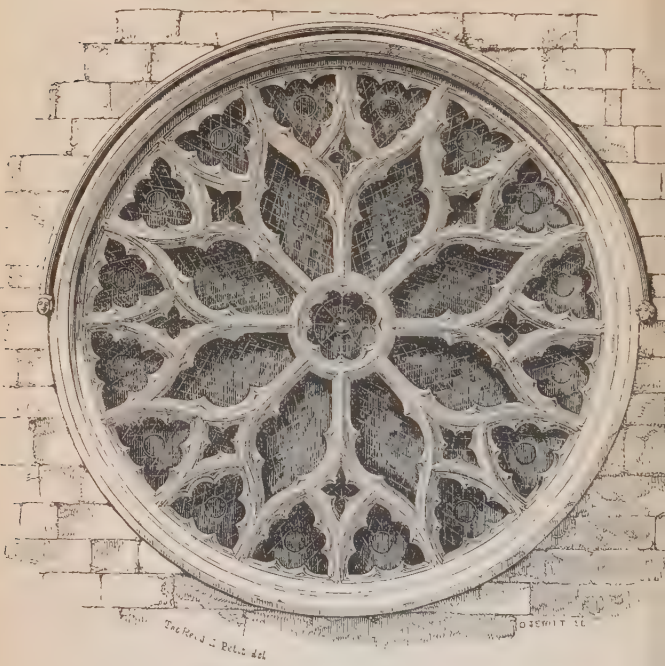
window of this form occurs at Westwell, Oxford-

127. Over, Cambridgeshire, c. 1320.
Segmental-headed.

shire. Occasionally they are used in side-chapels, as at Cheltenham (**128**).

The splendid rose-windows which are the glory of so many of the French cathedrals belong generally to this style, although they are also continued in the Flamboyant. In England they belong entirely to the Decorated style, and are never continued in the Perpendicular. The window at the end of the south transept of Lincoln is a very fine example: the one at the end of the south transept of Westminster Abbey is also

still a fine example, although it has been badly restored. Mr. Scott found the exact pattern of it in



128. St. Mary's, Cheltenham, c. 1320.

its original state on one of the tiles in the chapter-house [e].

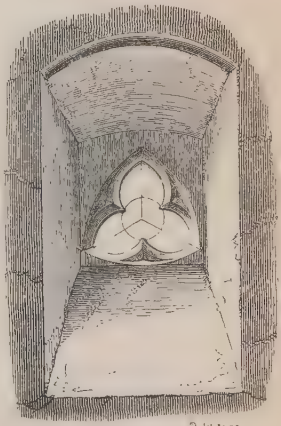
Clerestory windows of this style are often small, and either circular with quatrefoil cusps, or trefoils or

[e] See Scott's "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," 8vo., 1863, for engravings of the window and the tile.

quatrefoils; or the spherical triangle with cusps, which forms an elegant window, as at Cranford St. Andrew, Northamptonshire (**129**). The clever manner in which these windows are splayed within, and especially below, to throw down the light, should be noticed (**130**).

129. Cranford St. Andrew, Northants, c. 1320. Clerestory window of the form called a spherical triangle.

Flamboyant tracery, and the forms approaching to it, generally indicate a late date. We have no instance of real Flamboyant work in this country, although forms of tracery approaching to it are not uncommon; the mouldings are never of the true Flamboyant[f] character, which is quite distinct both from the Decorated and the Perpendicular; it coincided in time with

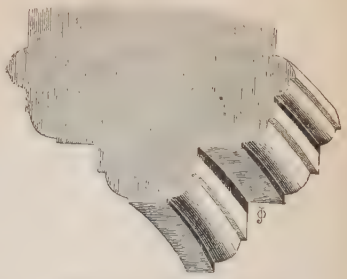


130. Barton Segrave, Northamptonshire, c. 1320.

[f] Flamboyant mouldings are much exaggerated, and some look like a caricature of our Decorated mouldings.

the latter, and therefore does not properly belong to our present subject.

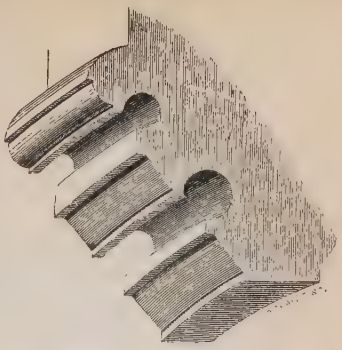
The Mouldings of this style differ from the Early English chiefly in having the rounds and hollows not so deeply cut, and more generally filleted: the roll-moulding, and the quarter round (**131**), are very much used; the abacus of the capital is in general a roll or filleted round, and the base is formed of round mouldings without the deep hollow: as the style advances, the mouldings become, generally, more shallow and feeble. The roll-moulding (**132**) is perhaps the most characteristic of the style, though it is used occasionally in Early English work also. A bold quarter-round is frequently used on arches without any other; the plain chamfer is used in all styles, but in Decorated work it is frequently sunk so as to leave a small square edge at each angle, thus varying the light and shade, and giving a precision to the angles of the chamfer which has a very good effect, as at Finedon, Northants (**133**). In late examples this is varied by a gentle swelling in the middle, forming a kind of shallow ogee moulding. The ornamental



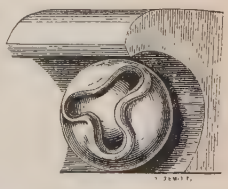
131. Bray, Berkshire, c. 1300.
The scroll and the quarter-round.

132. Chacombe, Northants.
The roll-moulding.

sculptures in the hollow mouldings are numerous, but there are two which require more particular notice; they are nearly as characteristic of the Decorated style as the zig-zag is of the Norman, or the tooth-ornament of the Early English. The first is the ball-flower (**134**), which is a globular flower half opened, and shewing, within, a small round ball. It is used with the utmost profusion in the mouldings of windows, doorways, canopies, cornices, arches, &c., generally with good effect, but sometimes in such excess as almost to destroy the effect of the mouldings, as at Gloucester Cathedral, Leominster (**125**), Ledbury, Herefordshire, and Grantham, Lincolnshire, but at the same time it gives great richness to the general effect of the windows. The ball-flowers are sometimes placed at intervals, and connected by a stem with or without foliage (**127**).



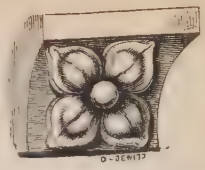
133. Finedon, Northamptonshire, c. 1340. The sunk chamfer and the hollow.



134. The ball-flower.

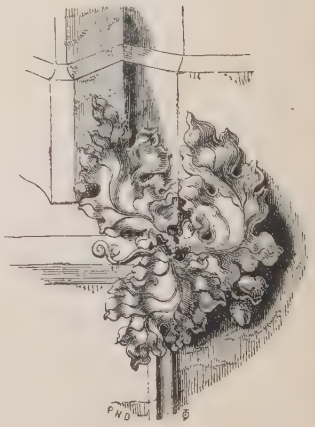
The other ornament is the four-leaved flower (**135**). This has a raised centre, and four petals cut in high relief; it is frequently much varied, but may be dis-

tinguished by its being cut distinctly into four petals, and by its boldness: it is sometimes used abundantly, though not quite so profusely as the ball-flower. In some instances the centre is sunk instead of being raised.



135. The four-leaved flower.

The battlement as an ornamental feature in the interior of buildings is frequently used in this style, although it is more common in the Perpendicular. Decorated battlements may generally be distinguished by the horizontal moulding being cut off at each opening, and not continued vertically down the sides of it, as is usual in the later styles; and this applies to the actual battlement on the parapet, as well as to the merely ornamental battlement in the interior. It occurs on the top of a screen, or of a piscina or other niche; also on the transom, and sometimes on the sill of a window; in all which situations it is more common and more conspicuous in the Perpendicular style.



136. Winchester Cathedral.
Oak-leaf foliage with acorns.

The foliage in this style is more faithfully copied from nature than in any other: the vine-leaf, the maple, and the oak with the acorn (**136**), are the most usual. The surface of the wall is often covered with flat foliage, arranged in small squares called diaper-work, which is believed to have originated in an imitation of the rich hangings then in general use, and which bore the same name. These diaper patterns (**137**) were originally coloured in imitation of the silks from which they were copied, and which at an early period came from the East, though they were afterwards imitated by the European manufacturers in Belgium and France, particularly at Ypres and Rheims. This kind of ornament was used in the Early English style, as in the choir of Westminster Abbey, but it more commonly belongs to the Decorated style.

137. Lincoln Cathedral. Diaper ornament.

The Pillars have no longer detached shafts, and the capitals are ornamented with foliage of a different character from that which preceded it (**138**), as has been mentioned. The flat surfaces in niches and monuments, on screens, and in other situations, are covered with delicately carved patterns, called diaper-work, representing foliage and flowers; among which are introduced birds and insects. and sometimes dogs or

other animals, all executed with much care and accuracy, and proving that the artists of that time drew largely from nature, the fountain-head of all perfection in art, to which all who are not content to be mere copyists of their predecessors must apply themselves. In some recent instances of the revival of the Decorated style, the foliage has been sculptured from nature with great success. The sculpture of the human figure in the early Decorated period is remarkable for the ease and chasteness of the attitudes, and the free and graceful, though at the same time rich, folds of the drapery. Few figures can surpass in simplicity and beauty the effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey, and those on the crosses erected to her memory are almost equally fine, especially those on the Northampton cross (**139**); those at Waltham have been mutilated and restored. The cross at Geddington is perhaps the most perfect of those which remain. This is not mentioned in the executors' accounts, but probably only because that part of the accounts has been lost; it is as plainly a memorial cross to Queen Eleanor as either of the others.

138. Exeter Cathedral, c. 1300.
Clustered pillar, with moulded caps and bases.

Westminster Abbey, Cloisters, A.D. 1330.

End of Western Bay, with remarkable Doorway, having rich Tracery over it, and Steps up to it. This is the Dean's Door.

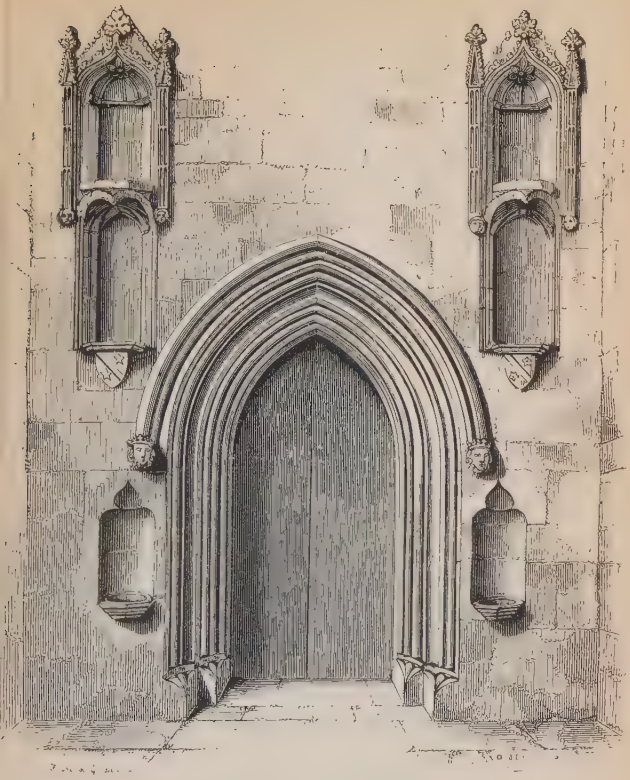
The Doorways of this style are frequently large, and very richly sculptured; but in small churches they are as frequently plain, and have merely a dripstone over them, the roll-moulding often terminated by two small heads, which are generally a king and a bishop, as at Kislingbury, Northamptonshire (**140**); this is the case also with the windows. It is often not easy to distinguish the plain doorways of this style from those of the preceding one, but in general they are not so deeply recessed, and there is a slight difference in the look, even where there are no mouldings to distinguish them. A few doorways of this style are double, but this is not a common arrangement in England. When there are shafts in the jambs they are worked on the same stone as part of the suite of mouldings, and not inserted as separate shafts of stone or marble, as in

139. Open Niche, with Canopy and Pinnacles, and Figure of Queen Eleanor, from her Monumental Cross at Northampton, A.D. 1294.

the Early English. The wooden doors are sometimes ornamented with panelling of a better description than that which is common in the next style; they were originally painted in colours like the interior of the churches, and often have ornamental iron-work upon them; even the nail-heads are made ornamental. In richer buildings there is frequently a canopy over the doorway, with crockets and a finial, these generally have the ogee arch, and sometimes there are niches or tabernacles on each side.

140. Kislingbury, Northamptonshire, c. 1350. This doorway has the dripstone terminated by the heads of a king and a bishop, and the mouldings filled with ball-flowers and foliage.

The Porches are sometimes shallow, as at Rushden, Northamptonshire; others have a very bold projection, with windows or open arcades at the sides, and sometimes, though rarely, with a room over: there are also many fine timber porches of this style, distinguished by the mouldings and barge-boards, as at Aldham,



Irthlingborough, Northants.

Part of the work of Pyel, A.D. 1300—80.

West Doorway, with Niches for Images above, and Stoups for holy water below.

Essex (**141**). These wooden porches are common in some districts, as in Herefordshire, and rare in others. There are good examples at Binfield and Long Wittenham, Berkshire, although that is not one of the districts in which they are commonly met with.

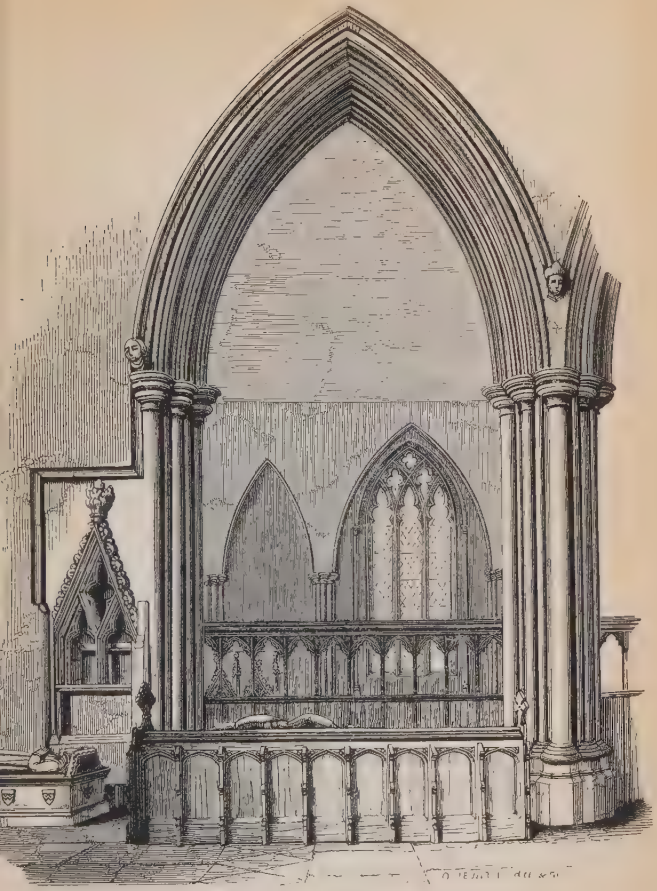
141. Decorated wooden Porch, Aldham, Essex, c. 1350.

THE ARCHES do not differ very materially in general effect from the Early English, but are distinguished by the mouldings and capitals as before described, as

in Selby Abbey, Yorkshire (**142**). The ogee arch is frequently used in small arcades and in the heads of windows. The dripstones or hood-moulds are generally supported by heads, and are frequently enriched with crockets and finials. The arch-mouldings are frequently continued down the pillars, or die into them without being stopped by capitals or impost-mouldings.

142. Selby Abbey Church, Yorkshire, c. 1320. Decorated arches.

The arcades which ornament the walls in rich buildings, and those over the sedilia, are very characteristic features of the style. In some instances the sedilia, or seats for the officiating clergy by the side of the altar, have projecting canopies over them, (as at Dorchester, Oxon, and at Lichfield Cathedral,) forming perfect taber-



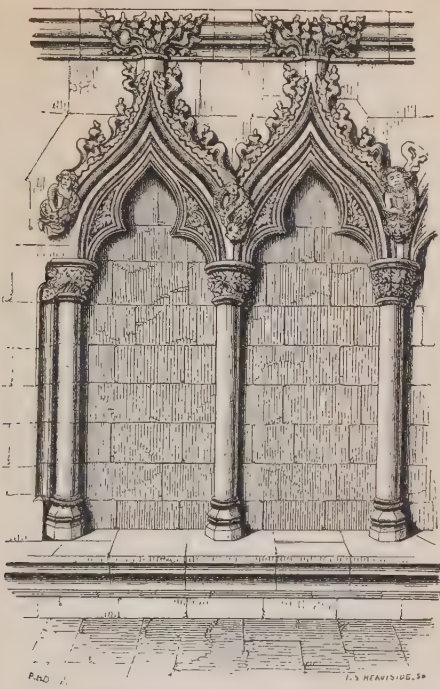
Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon., c. A.D. 1300.

South Side of Chancel, with Piscina, Wooden Screen, and Stalls, and Window of Chantry Chapel.

Sedilia, Chesterton, Oxon., c. A.D. 1326.

The *Ball-flower Ornament* is considered as peculiarly a distinguishing mark of the Decorated style, and this is an excellent example of the application of it. In some districts the use of it is carried to excess, especially in Herefordshire; and in Gloucester Cathedral it generally indicates the time of Edward II.

nacles, as if for images; more commonly they have canopies on the same plane with the seats, ornamented



143. Decorated Arcade, Beverley Minster, c. 1350.

Arcade shewing ogee arches richly moulded and ornamented with crockets and finials, cusps with their eyes enriched with foliage, and shafts with capitals of foliage and moulded bases.

with crockets and bunches of foliage for finials, as in Beverley Minster (**143**), with pinnacles between.

The Piscinas, or water-drains, and niches, or tabernacles for images, are often very rich, with canopies and open tracery. They form one of the chief beauties of this style. The pediment, or straight-sided canopy, is much used in this style over doors, sedilia, piscinas, and monuments. A rich example occurs in Fyfield Church, Berkshire, where the pediment is crocketed, and is placed under a square head with a battlement carried by pinnacles, and the spandrels filled up with foliated circles enclosing shields (**144**).

144. Decorated Piscina, Fyfield, Berkshire, c. 1300.

Piscina shewing geometrical tracery, with a crocketed pediment and pinnacles, and a battlement.

The Groined Roofs, or Vaults, are distinguished from those of the preceding style chiefly by an additional number of ribs, and by the natural foliage on the bosses. Many fine examples of these remain, as in the Cathedral of Exeter, and at York in the chapter-house; at Norwich in the cloisters; at Chester[g] the vault is of wood, with stone springers.

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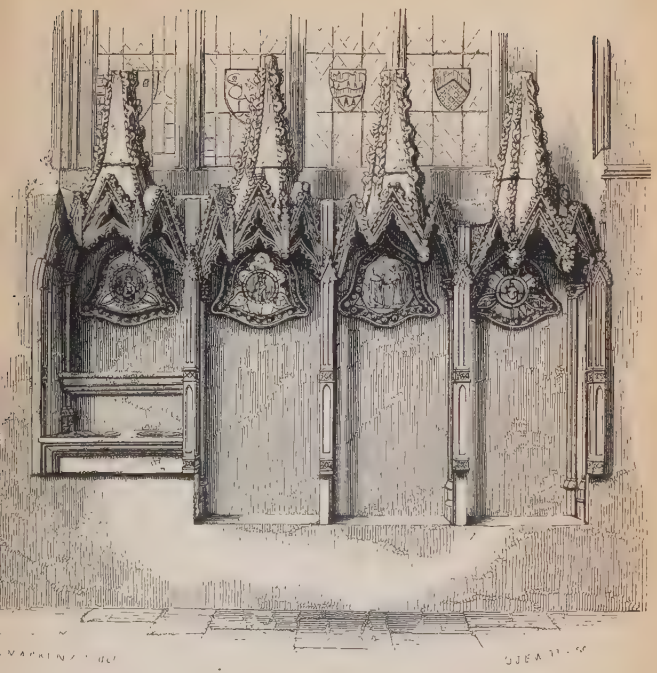
[g] The wooden groined vaults of Chester Cathedral were carefully restored in 1871-72, with excellent effect and in very good taste.



Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon.

ecorated Sedilia and Piscina, with small Window at the back of each, c. A.D. 1370.

These small windows under the canopies are believed to be quite nique. They have the original painted glass in them. The name f Sedilia, or Seats, is given to the seats for the priest, deacon, and ub-deacon when officiating at the altar.

Westminster, Chapel of St. Blaise, A.D. 1320.

It is customary to call a vault a roof: it would be more correct to call it a ceiling. The name of Vault is commonly applied to subterranean chambers.

There are a few instances of stone roofs of this style over narrow spaces of very high pitch, supported by open-work, as if in imitation of wood-work, as on the vestry of Willingham, Cambridgeshire, and the porch of Middleton Cheney, Oxfordshire.

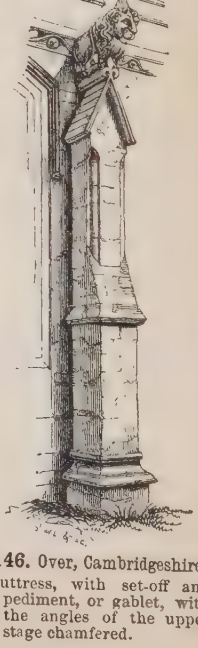
Timber Roofs of this period are comparatively scarce, although they are more common than is usually sup-

145. Decorated Roof, Sparsholt, Berkshire, c. 1350.

posed; but it is lamentable to observe how fast they are disappearing: that of the hall of the abbey of Great Malvern, the finest example that existed in this country, or probably in any other, was wantonly destroyed: it was a wooden ceiling, with an outer roof.

Bradenstoke Priory, or Clack Abbey, near Chippenham, in Wiltshire, is, or was, a fine example. The timber roofs of churches of this style are not generally so fine as those of halls. There are, however, many very good specimens of Decorated roofs remaining in churches, as at Adderbury, Oxfordshire, Raunds, Northamptonshire, and several others in that neighbourhood.

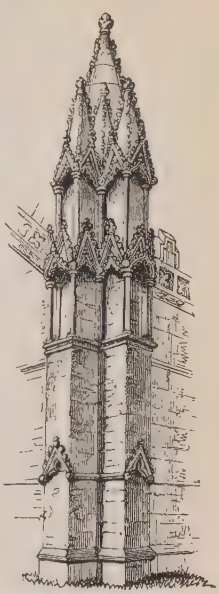
It should be observed that what are called open timber roofs are, very frequently, inner roofs or ceilings for ornament only, with a plain substantial outer roof over them, as at Sparsholt, Berkshire (**145**). These inner roofs or wooden ceilings, are sometimes of precisely the same form as stone vaults, which are, in fact, ceilings of another kind. The wooden vaults of Warmington and the cloisters of Lincoln have been already mentioned; those of the nave of York Minster and Winchester Cathedral are also of wood only. The hideous fashion of plain, flat, white plaster ceilings which prevailed during the last century, and by which so many fine roofs were destroyed, has caused, by a very natural reaction, a strong prejudice against ceilings of any kind, but this is going from one extreme to the other, and is equally erroneous the other way. Ceilings are very useful and often necessary, and the proper thing



146. Over, Cambridgeshire. Buttress, with set-off and pediment, or gablet, with the angles of the upper stage chamfered.

to be considered is how best to make them ornamental also, as they were formerly.

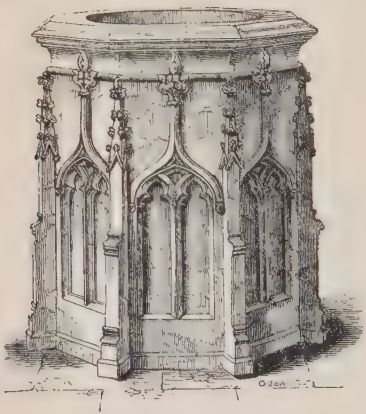
THE BUTTRESSES in this style have great variety of forms and of degrees of richness. Sometimes they are quite plain, or merely have the angles chamfered off, and terminated by a slope, either under the cornice, or passing through it, as at Beaulieu, Hampshire. In other instances the buttress terminates in a pediment or gablet, as at Over, Cambridgeshire (**146**), either with or without crockets and a finial, according to the richness of the building. Over each buttress there is frequently a gurgoyle, or ornamental water-spout, as at Over. They usually have pediments, and are frequently enriched on the face with niches and canopies, and often terminate in pinnacles, as at Gadsby, Leicestershire (**147**). In large buildings there are fine arch-buttresses spanning over the aisles, as at Howden. There are sometimes also groups of pinnacles round the base of the spire in this style, which have a very rich effect, as at St. Mary's, Oxford.



147. Gadsby, Leicestershire, c. 1350.
Corner buttress with canopies and pinnacle.

These groups of pinnacles are among the most ornamental features of the style; those at the east end of

Howden are among the most celebrated. The buttresses of this style are almost invariably divided into stages with a set-off between each, and sometimes have a succession of niches with crocketed canopies over them, which originally had images in them also. Our eyes are so much accustomed to empty niches in this country that they do not offend us, but an empty niche is in fact an unmeaning thing, a niche was originally intended to contain an image, and the canopy over it was to protect the head of the image.



148. Decorated Font, Bloxham, Oxfordshire.
Font with panelling in imitation of windows.

The Fonts of this style are less common than those of the other styles, but still there are many varieties of them: the most common type is octagonal, with shallow panelling resembling the tracery of windows (**148**). But there are many which display great beauty both

of design and execution. They are frequently cup-shaped, with both the basin and the stem enriched with panelling, and sometimes the sides of the basin have a kind of canopies attached to them, overhanging, as if over images placed round the stem under them, which is sometimes the case; although, contrary to the general rule, canopies are sometimes found on fonts in situations where there could have been no images.

The East Front of a church of this style most commonly consists of one large window at the end of the choir, flanked by tall buttresses, and a smaller one at the end of each aisle; the west front usually has the same arrangement, with the addition of a doorway, or doorways, under the central window. The east ends of Carlisle and Selby, and the west end of Howden, are among the finest examples. On the Continent the large rose-window is almost always a principal feature of the west front; with us it is comparatively rare, and more often found in the transept ends than at the west end. The south fronts of Howden and Selby are also fine examples of the arrangement of the side of a large building of this style, with large windows both to the aisle and the clerestory, separated by buttresses with pinnacles. The interior of the choir at Selby is one of the finest examples of the general effect of a Decorated interior, and on a smaller scale the choirs of Hull, and of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, are good examples. Lichfield Cathedral has the great advantage of having its three spires perfect, and on this account perhaps gives us the best idea of the effect intended to

be produced by the exterior of a perfect church of this style: there can be no doubt that the same arrangement was contemplated in many other instances.

The lantern of Ely and the nave of York must not be omitted in this mention of some of the leading examples of the Decorated style, the general character of which is thus ably summed up by Mr. RICKMAN:—

"THE GENERAL APPEARANCE of Decorated buildings is at once simple and magnificent; simple from the small number of parts, and magnificent from the size of the windows, and the easy flow of the lines of tracery. In the interior of large buildings we find great breadth, and an enlargement of the clerestory windows, with a corresponding diminution of the triforium, which is now rather a part of the clerestory opening than a distinct member of the division. The roofing, from the increased richness of the groining, becomes an object of more attention. On the whole, the nave of York, from the uncommon grandeur and simplicity of the design, is certainly the finest example; ornament is nowhere spared, yet there is a simplicity which is peculiarly pleasing."

The remains of castles of the Edwardian period, or the Decorated style, are very numerous and very fine, more especially those begun by Edward I., and completed in the time of Edward II., in Wales, and the borders: such as Conway, Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Harlech in North Wales; Pembroke, Carew, and Manorbeer in South Wales. These are among the most important monuments of medieval architecture that we have remaining, and are almost equally valuable for their domestic arrangements as for their strictly military defences. There are many castles of this type also in other parts of England and on the borders of Scotland, such as Alnwick, Bam-

borough, Prudhoe, Raby, Brougham, Ludlow, and Warwick. There are several castles of this class, also built or commenced by Edward I., in Guienne[h]; and the castle of the celebrated John Chandos, the great captain of the English army under Edward III., is nearly perfect at St. Sauveur, in the Cotentin, Normandy. This is remarkable for having no pointed arches, all are either square-headed or segmental. Houses of this style are still numerous, though they are fast disappearing before modern improvements. They are generally fortified, and are commonly called castles, but the house during this period was gradually becoming more and more distinct from the fortress, and though surrounded by a moat and walls for defence, the buildings themselves, that were inhabited, had often very little of a military character. The hall, with its fine lofty windows, is often mistaken for a chapel, but the seat in the sill of each window will always distinguish a domestic window from a church or chapel window. Some of the most perfect houses of this period that we have remaining are Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire; Stoke Say, Shropshire; Penshurst, Kent; Sutton Courtney, Berkshire. Some fine halls of this style have stone arches to carry the timbers of the roof, as at Mayfield and Conway; others have wooden arches only, with narrow aisles between the wooden pillars and the walls, as at Nursted. In England we have very few town-houses of this period, while on the Continent town-houses are more common than country ones: the towns were strongly fortified, and dwelling-houses could be built safely within the walls, while in country districts strong fortresses were necessary. For an account and engravings of them we must refer to the second volume of the "Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages[i]."

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[h] See *La Guienne Anglaise*, par Leo Drouyn. 4to., Bordeaux, 1861.

[i] 8vo., Oxford, 1853.

The Transition from Decorated to Perpendicular.

Richard II. and the latter part of Edward III. From *c.* 1360 to 1399.

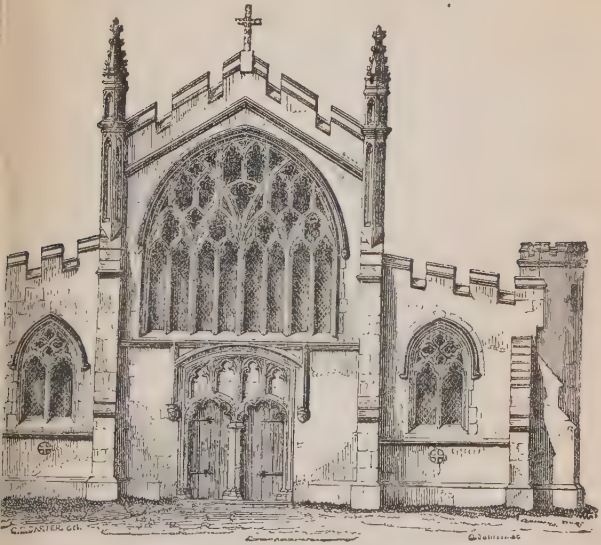
Having now traced the gradual development of Gothic architecture, from the rudest Romanesque to its perfection in the Decorated style, it only remains to trace its decline, which, though not equally gradual, was much more so than is commonly supposed. Up to the time of its perfection the progress appears to have been nearly simultaneous throughout the northern part of Europe, with some exceptions; but during the period of its decline, chiefly the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it assumed a different form in each country, so distinct one from the other as to require a different name, and to be fairly considered as a distinct style. To call the Perpendicular style of England by the same name as the Flamboyant style of France, Germany, and the Low Countries, can only cause needless confusion; and the received names for these styles are so expressive of their general character that it would not be easy to improve upon them.

The transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style has been less generally noticed than the earlier transitions; but though less apparent at first sight, it may be as clearly traced, and examples of it are almost equally numerous: they occur in most parts of the country, though more common in some districts than in others, especially in Norfolk.

Professor Willis has demonstrated that this change began to shew itself, in the choir and transepts of Gloucester Cathedral, before the middle of the fourteenth century[k]. The panelling and the window tracery have so much the appearance of the Perpendicular style that they have been commonly supposed to have been rebuilt or altered at a late period; but the vaulting and the mouldings are pure Decorated, and the painted glass

[k] It is acknowledged by the best-informed French Archæologists, that in each succeeding change of style after the first, England was always in advance of France for some years, often for a long interval.

of the fourteenth century is evidently made for the places which it occupies in the heads of the windows of Perpendicular tracery: it must therefore be considered as the earliest known example of this great change of style. In this work of alteration the walls and arches of the Norman church were not rebuilt, but cased with panelling over the inner surface, so as to give the effect of the latter style to the interior. The work was begun as early as 1337, and carried on for a number of years. The funds were procured by offerings at the tomb of King Edward II., who, as is well known, was buried in this



149. Edington, Wilts., A.D. 1361.

Elevation of the West Front, shewing the transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style.

church, the body having been removed from Berkeley Castle for that purpose by the Abbot Thokey.

It has been ascertained by Archdeacon Freeman, at Exeter,

by a careful comparison of the building with the fabric rolls, that the greater part of that fine Cathedral was also *altered* from the Norman to the Decorated style without rebuilding.

Ottery St. Mary Church, Devonshire, a few miles from Exeter, was building at the same time as the Cathedral, in the reigns of Edward I. and II., and yet the older fashion of lancet-shaped windows is retained throughout, although all the mouldings belong to the Decorated style.

The cloisters of Windsor and the buildings surrounding them were built between 1350 and 1356, as appears by the builder's accounts still extant in the Public Records. The style is Perpendicular, but with Decorated mouldings, or at least a mixture of them. The vault of the porch under the Ærary or treasury, and the doorway to it, are among the richest pieces of work of this period. It was originally the porch of the chapter-house of the Order of the Garter.

Sir G. G. Scott, in his "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," has also shewn that part of the cloisters, and some other work recorded to have been built by Abbot Litlington, 1362—1386, are in a style of transition, belonging rather to the Perpendicular than the Decorated.

One of the earliest authenticated examples of this transition is the church of Edington, Wiltshire (**149**), built by William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester: the first stone was laid in 1352, and the church was dedicated in 1361. It is a fine cruciform church, all of uniform character, and that character is neither Decorated nor Perpendicular, but a very remarkable mixture of the two styles throughout. The tracery of the windows looks at first sight like Decorated, but on looking more closely the introduction of Perpendicular features is very evident. The west doorway has the segmental arch common in Decorated work; over this is the usual square label of the Perpendicular, and under the arch is Perpendicular panelling over the heads of the two doors: the same curious mixture is observable in the mouldings, and in all the details. This example is the more valuable from the circumstance that it was Bishop Edington who commenced the alteration of Winchester Cathedral into the Perpendicular style; he died in 1366, and the work was continued by William of Wykeham, who mentions in his will that Edington had finished the west end, with two windows

DECORATED ROOFS. [*To face p.* 193.

Westminster, Gateway of Abbot Litlington, A.D. 1376—86.

The change had hardly begun in this instance; but during the time of Litlington it made rapid progress.

on the north side and one on the south: the change in the character of the work is very distinctly marked. Bishop Edington's work at Winchester was executed at a later period than that at Edington, and, as might be expected, the new idea is more fully developed; but on a comparison between the west window of Winchester and the east window of Edington, it will at once be seen that the principle of construction is the same; there is a central division carried up to the head of the window, and sub-arches springing from it on each side: it may be observed that whenever this arrangement of the sub-arches occurs in Decorated work, it is a sign that the work is late in the style. Before the death of Bishop Edington the great principles of the Perpendicular style were fully established. These chiefly consist of the Perpendicular lines through the head of the window, and in covering the surface of the wall with panelling of the same kind. These features are as distinctly marked at Winchester as in any subsequent building, or as they well could be.

The next great work of Wykeham was New College Chapel, Oxford, certainly one of the earliest, perhaps the first, building erected from the foundations entirely in the Perpendicular style; and a finer specimen of the style does not exist. The first stone was laid in 1380, and it was dedicated in 1386.

Winchester College, built immediately after New College, is of precisely the same character with it, as might have been expected: they are both excellent specimens for the study of the Perpendicular style.

Another very remarkable and valuable example of the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular is the choir of York Minster, commenced by Archbishop John de Thoresby in 1361, and completed in 1408; the general appearance of this magnificent work is Perpendicular, but there is great mixture in all the details (**153**). The chancel of St. Mary's Church at Warwick, rebuilt by Thomas Beauchamp, second Earl of Warwick, between 1370 and 1391, has more of the Perpendicular, being covered with panelling like Winchester, but the mouldings are quite of mixed character. King's Sutton Church, Northamptonshire, deserves notice as a specimen of this transition.

The nave and western transepts of Canterbury Cathedral were rebuilt between 1378 and 1411, but the Perpendicular style was then so fully established that there are scarcely any signs of

transition. Chipping-Camden Church, Gloucestershire, was rebuilt by William Greville, a rich wool-stapler, who is buried in the chancel with his wife, and there is a fine brass to their memory; he died in 1401. This church is almost entirely of transitional character. The glorious chapter-house of Howden, and Gisburne Priory Church, in Yorkshire, are of this period, and very fine examples of early Perpendicular work. The roof and the casing of the walls of Westminster Hall belong also to the close of this century, 1397-99. The gatehouse of Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, is another splendid example of this transition. The cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral are decided Perpendicular in the fan-tracery of the vaults, but are partly of earlier date and character.

Houses and castles of the time of Richard II. are rather numerous and fine, and have frequently such a mixture of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles that it is difficult to say to which they belong. This is the case with a part of Warwick Castle, of Donnington Castle, Berkshire, Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, and Wressel Castle, Yorkshire; and Bolton Castle, in the more northern part of Yorkshire, is another fine example, and remarkably perfect. It is a very lofty and fine building, rather a fortified house than a castle intended for military purposes; there are two courts, and all the towers are perfect, or nearly so. It belongs to the time of Richard II. Dartington Hall, Devonshire, near Totnes, is another remarkable example of this period and character; it is a manor-house not fortified, with extensive farm-buildings attached to it. All the original windows are of four lights, with arches of the form called the shouldered-arch, which has been adopted in the modern Gothic front of Balliol College, Oxford. The original parts of the Vicar's Close at Wells are of the same character and period; the remains of the Vicar's Close at Lincoln are in part also of this character, one house is earlier, more decidedly Edwardian, and remarkably perfect. Most of these buildings are well known and have often been described, but are sometimes said to belong to the one style and sometimes to the other, this important transitional period having been very commonly overlooked.

CHAPTER VI.

The Perpendicular Style.

RICHARD II. TO HENRY VIII. A.D. 1377 TO 1547.

HAVING thus taken a rapid historical survey of the introduction of the Perpendicular style, it remains to describe its characteristic features. The broad distinction of the Perpendicular style lies in the form of the tracery in the head of the windows; and in fully developed examples the distinction is sufficiently obvious. We have no longer the head of the window filled with the gracefully flowing lines of the Decorated tracery, but their place is supplied by the rigid lines of the mullions, which are carried through to the architrave mouldings, the spaces between being frequently divided and subdivided by similar Perpendicular lines; so that *Perpendicularity* is so clearly the characteristic of these windows, that no other word could have been found which would at once so well express the predominating feature. The same character prevails throughout the buildings of this period: the whole surface of a building, including its buttresses, parapets, basements, and every part of the flat surface, is covered with panelling, in which the Perpendicular line clearly predominates; and to such an excess is this carried that the windows frequently appear to be only openings in the panel-work. This is particularly apparent in the interior of the west end of Winchester Cathedral, and the exterior of the Divinity School, Oxford; the towers of Boston in Lincolnshire, and Evesham in Worcestershire, are also fine examples of exterior panelling.

Panelling, indeed, now forms an important feature of the style; for though it was used in the earlier styles, it was not to the same extent, and was of very different character, the plain surfaces in those styles being relieved chiefly by diaper-work.

In the earlier or transitional examples we find, as has been mentioned, a mixture of the two styles. The general form of the tracery is frequently Decorated, but the lines of the mullions are carried through them, and perpendicular lines in various ways introduced. A very common form of transition is the changing of the flowing lines of a two-light Decorated window into a straight-sided figure by the introduction of perpendicular lines from the points of the sub-arches, as at Haseley, Oxfordshire. Sometimes we have Decorated mouldings, with Perpendicular tracery, but frequently the features of both styles are intimately blended, and produce a very good effect.

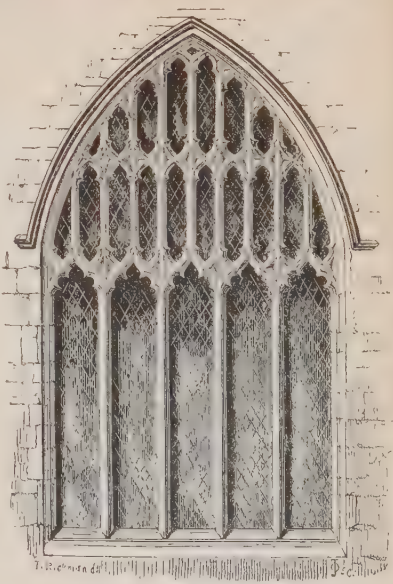
150. New College, Oxford, A.D. 1386. Shewing Perpendicular tracery, with sub-arches and a transom, the heads of the lights cinquefoiled.

THE WINDOWS of New College and the ante-chapel of Merton College, Oxford, afford per-

haps as fine examples as are to be found of early and perfect Perpendicular. They are both what is called sub-arcuated, but in New College (**150**) the window is of four lights, and the sub-arches rise from the centre mullion; while in Merton (**151**), which is of three lights, the mullions are carried up to the architrave, and the side lights only are sub-arcuated. Both these forms are very frequent. In many later examples these sub-arches are entirely disused, and all the mullions are carried through the transom; this is the case at New College: but it was afterwards used to excess, so as greatly to injure the effect of the windows. In the later examples the arches of the windows are much lower than they were in the earlier period, and the four-centred arch, which began now to be extensively used, was gradually depressed, until all beauty of proportion was lost, the

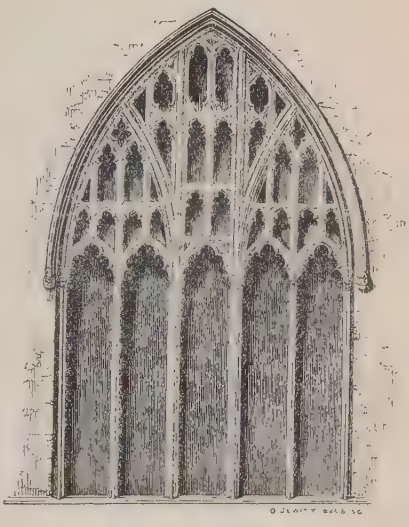
151. Merton College Chapel, Oxford, A.D. 1424. Another variety of Perpendicular tracery, the heads of the lower lights are multifoiled.

arches being little more than two straight lines rounded at the angle of junction with the jambs. These late windows had frequently great width in proportion to their height (**152**), and were placed so near together that the strength of the building entirely depended on the buttresses. These windows having all been originally filled with painted glass, we have rarely an opportunity of judging of the proper effect of them; the glare of light which we now complain of having been caused by the destruction of that material, which was intended to soften and partially to exclude it. The church of Fairford, in Gloucestershire, affords a rare instance of the painted glass having been preserved in all the windows, and the effect is solemn and calm—very far from glaring; and it is remarkable that they impede the light so little that a book may be read in any part of the church, which is seldom the case with modern



152. Swinbrook, Oxfordshire, c. 1500.
Perpendicular tracery fully carried out.

painted glass. The clerestories also are frequently almost a sheet of glass merely divided by lighter or heavier mullions, thus offering a complete contrast to the small and distant openings so frequently found in Early English and Decorated work. Square-headed, segmental, and other flat-arched windows, are frequent in this style. In rich churches there is sometimes a double plane of tracery, the one glazed, the other not. In the choir of York (**153**) the inner one is glazed. The east window of the nave of Chipping-Norton Church, Oxfordshire, over the chancel-arch, is a fine specimen of this kind of window: in this instance the outer plane is glazed.



153. Clerestory choir, York Cathedral, A.D. 1361—1408.

A little later in the style, one of the best examples that is anywhere to be found is the ante-chapel and tower of Merton College, Oxford. The very slow and gradual manner in which this chapel was built has been already mentioned: the

fine tower-arches, and the lower part of the walls, especially in the south transept, belong to an earlier period, but the windows and the north doorway (**154**) are of this period; and there are few finer

154. Merton College Chapel.
North doorway, A.D. 1424.

specimens of the style than the north end of this transept: it was re-dedicated in 1424, but the tower was not built until 1450.

THE DOORWAYS are frequently very rich, but have generally one prevailing form, which is a de-

Paris—S. Germain L'Auxerrois.

From a Drawing by Fichot (as restored), with the Porch of Jean Gaussel, A.D. 1435.

pressed arch within a square frame, and over this a label (**155**).

The label-moulding is frequently filled with foliage.

155. Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, A.D. 1440.
Deep hollow mouldings, and foliated aisles in the spandrels.

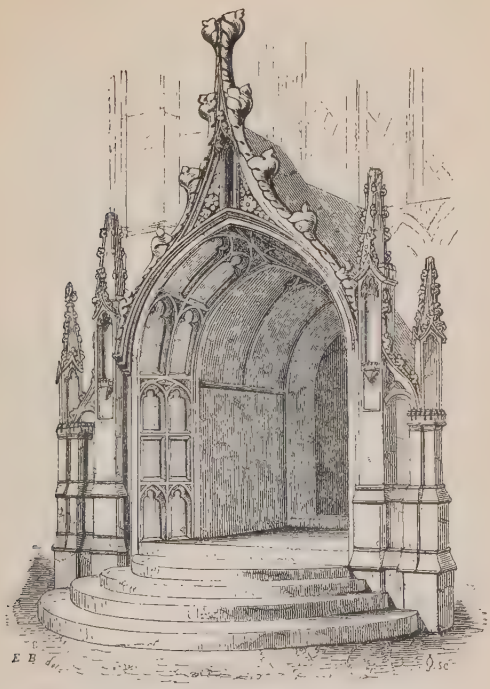
and the space round the arch panelled; the jambs ornamented with shafts, and the spandrels filled with shields and foliage.

The Towers in this style are frequently extremely rich and elaborately ornamented, having four or five stories of large windows with rich canopies, pinnacles, and tabernacles; double buttresses at the angles, and rich deep open parapets, with pinnacles and crocketed

turrets at the corners, having small flying or hanging pinnacles attached. These very gorgeous towers are chiefly found in Somersetshire, as at Wrington, Taunton, Brislington (**156**), &c. There are, however, few which, for beauty of proportion and chasteness of composition, can rival that of Magdalen College, Oxford. The lower stories are extremely plain, all the ornament being reserved for the belfry windows, the parapet, and pinnacles. By this judicious arrangement the eye takes in the whole subject at once, thus giving to it a solemnity and a repose which are not attained by the more gorgeous specimens before referred to. This tower was originally intended to stand alone, as a campanile, or belfry-tower; the buildings which have been erected on two sides of it are of a subsequent period.

156. Brislington, Somersetshire, c. 1500.
Shewing the diagonal corner buttresses and stair-turret, with the open parapet and pinnacles.

THE PORCHES are in general very fine, and highly enriched with panel-work (**157**), buttresses, and pin-



157. All Saints, Stamford, Lincolnshire, c. 1550.
Porch with ogee crocketed canopy and pinnacles.

nacles; open parapets, windows, and tabernacles with figures, flanking the window or the outer arch, and

in the interior a richly-groined vault. Very fine examples of these porches are found in Norfolk, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire.

158. Bicester, Oxfordshire, c. 1420.

In later examples we find ornament used to such an excess as completely to overpower the features of a building; no large space is left on which the eye can rest, but every portion is occupied with panelling or other ornament. An example of this may be seen in the exterior of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, which has more the appearance of a piece of wood-carving than of a building of stone; but in the interior of the same building this very richness has a wonderfully fine effect. The light and elegant style of vaulting known as fan-tracery (**159**), which is peculiar to this style, with its

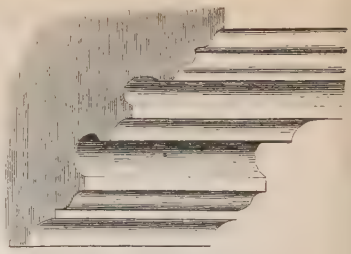
delicate pendants and lace-like ornaments, harmonizes finely with the elaborate ornament of the tabernacle-work below.

159. Cloisters, Gloucester Cathedral.

Fan-tracery vault.

THE MOULDINGS of this style differ much from the preceding ones. They are in general more shallow; that is, they have more breadth and less depth than the earlier ones. Those in most use are a wide and shallow moulding, used in the jambs of windows and doorways; a shallow ogee; a round, or boutell; a fillet,

a kind of hollow quarter-round, and a double ogee (**160**). The wide moulding of cornices is filled up at intervals with large pateræ, which replace the four-leaved flower and the ball-flower of the Decorated style; or with heads, grotesque figures, or animals and foliage. These are frequently inferior both in conception and execution to the earlier styles.

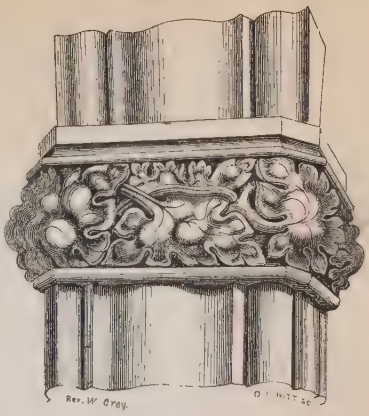


160. St. Mary's, Oxford, A.D. 1488.
Shewing the double ogee, hollows, and square fillets.

There is an ornament which was introduced in this style, and which is very characteristic. This is called the "Tudor flower" (**161**), not because it was introduced in the time of the Tudors, but because it was so much used at that period. It generally consists of some modification of the fleur-de-lis, alternately with a small trefoil or ball, and is much used as a crest for screens, on fonts, niches, capitals, and in almost all places where such ornament can be used. The foliage of this style is frequently very beautiful:

161. Henry the Seventh's Chapel
Tudor-flower ornament.

in Devonshire the foliage of the capitals is peculiar, often resembling a wreath of flowers twisted round the top of the pillar (**162**); and this may probably have been the idea of the sculptors, as the custom of decorating churches with flowers at certain seasons is a very ancient one; it is probable also that the sculpture was originally coloured after nature.



162. Stoke-in-Teignhead, Devonshire, c. 1480. Capital, with the Devonshire foliage.

There is comparatively a squareness about the Perpendicular foliage which takes from the freshness and beauty which distinguished that of the Decorated style. Indeed, the use of square and angular forms is one of the characteristics of the style; we have square panels, square foliage, square crockets (**163**) and finials, square forms in the windows,—caused by the introduction of so many transoms,—and an approach to squareness in the depressed and low pitch of the roofs in late examples.

163. Solihull, Warwickshire. Square crocket.

The Buttresses are frequently panelled (**164**); they are not pedimented, but their set-offs are finished with a plain slope, and they are often terminated by a pinnacle rising above the parapet. Flying buttresses or arch-buttresses are common in this style.

164. Divinity School, Oxford, c. 1450.
Panelled buttresses.

The splendid Open Timber Roofs (**165**), which are the glory of the eastern counties, belong almost entirely to this style; the screens and lofts across the chancel-arch, often across the aisles and the tower-arch also[a], and the richly carved bench-ends for which the West of England is so justly celebrated, also belong to it; in fact, nearly the whole of the medieval wood-work which we have remaining is of this style, and this material appears to be peculiarly adapted for it. It may reasonably be doubted whether the modern attempts to revive the wood-work of the Norman and Early English styles are

[a] In Norfolk there are several fine examples remaining of galleries and screens, commonly called roodlofts, being used at the west end of the church also, under the tower, and across the tower-arch; and this in churches where the roodloft, properly so called, still remains across the chancel-arch, so that there is a quasi-roodloft at each end of the nave. There is no doubt that

St. Stephen's, Norwich.

Perpendicular Open Timber-roof, A.D. 1520.

A fine example of the rich timber-roofs, or ceilings, for which the county of Norfolk is celebrated. These fine Open Timber-roofs, or ceilings, are found chiefly in the eastern and western counties, with other fine woodwork.

not altogether a mistake. Nothing can well exceed the richness and beauty of the Perpendicular wood-

165. St. Michael's, Coventry, c. 1500.
Shewing a panelled inner roof, or ceiling, with arched tie-beams.

work, and it is easy to imagine that a church of the twelfth or thirteenth century has been newly furnished in the fifteenth or sixteenth. We have, however, some

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this custom prevailed in many other counties also, but the western loft has generally been destroyed in consequence of the barbarous custom of blocking up the tower-arch, which is often the finest feature in the church.

very beautiful examples of Decorated wood-work in screens, and stalls with their canopies, as at Win-

166. George Inn, Glastonbury, Somersetshire.

chester; there are also a few wooden tombs of that period.

The Redcliffe Church, Bristol, the west front and south porch of Gloucester Cathedral, and part of the choir of St. Alban's Abbey Church, with the tomb of Abbot Wheathampstead, are also of this period, and good specimens of the style. Within the next twenty years we have a crowd of examples, which it is not necessary to enumerate.

But a few more specimens of the later period of this style can hardly be passed over, such as St. George's Chapel, Windsor, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster; and of the very latest before the change of style, Bath Abbey Church, the Savoy Chapel, in the Strand, London, with its very beautiful panelled ceiling, and Whiston Church, Northants.

Castles and houses of this style are numerous, and many of them very fine; the fortifications gradually disappear, or are used more for show than for use. Several of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge are fine examples of this style, partaking very much of the character of a large manor-house of this period, with many of the old offices and customs retained. All Souls and Magdalen, Oxford, may be especially mentioned; the quadrangle and chapel of All Souls, with the fine reredos discovered in 1872, are valuable examples; the cloistered court of Magdalen, with its chapel and hall and founder's chambers; Wolsey's Halls at Christ Church and at Hampton Court, are celebrated. These English buildings of the Perpendicular style have a bold and grand character of their own, quite distinct from any foreign style; the French chateaux of the same period are often very pretty and elegant buildings, but they belong to quite a different class, and can hardly be compared to the English gentleman's mansion or nobleman's palace of the time of Richard II., and those even of the Tudor era need not fear the comparison. No one can look at such buildings as Penshurst, Hurstmonceaux, Chalfield, Cowdray, or Thornbury, without acknowledging that there is much to admire in them. It is too much the fashion at present to run down the Perpendicular style because it is exclusively English, and the *dilettanti* of the day can admire nothing but what is Venetian, or at least foreign; they wilfully shut their eyes to the merits of the works of our own ancestors.

The Renaissance.

After the time of Henry the Seventh the style loses its purity; indeed, at that time we find Italian features introduced, though sparingly, among the true Gothic, and these become more numerous in the reign of his successor. In foreign countries the Classical or Pagan styles were revived at an earlier period than with us. The French call it the style of the "Renaissance." The Elizabethan style is a singular mixture of Gothic and Italian details; it is almost confined to domestic buildings, but may occasionally be found in additions and alterations of churches, as at Sunningwell, Berkshire.

In the time of James the First a strenuous effort was made to revive the Gothic style, more especially in Oxford, and although the details are poor and clumsy imitations, the general effect is frequently very good.

Of this period the Schools are a good example, especially the vaulted room called the "Pig Market," Lincoln College Chapel is also a very favourable specimen of Jacobean Gothic, as it is often called. The choir of Wadham College Chapel is another very remarkable example, the design and details of which are so good that it would appear incredible that it could be of this period, but for the fact that the weekly accounts kept by the clerk of the works for the foundress are preserved among the records of the college, and leave no room for doubt on the subject. It is still

more extraordinary that the windows of the hall and ante-chapel were erected at the same time, week by week, by another gang of men: the inferiority of taste displayed in them would make them appear at least fifty years later. At first sight it would appear impossible that these two buildings, so very different in style, can be of the same period, but we must remember that there was always "an overlapping of the styles." Some people would build in the old-fashioned way, and others in the new-fashioned way, so that for the space of perhaps five-and-twenty years a building may be in the style of the fathers or of the sons. The old-fashioned style went out of use gradually, not suddenly; this is the case now, and it has always been so.

The east window of Jesus College Chapel, Oxford, as seen from the Turl, might very well be supposed to be the work of the fifteenth century, if we judged by the design only. Oriel College Chapel, erected at the same time, is in very inferior taste. Specimens of fan-tracery vaulting of this period are numerous in Oxford, chiefly over the entrance porch or gateway of the colleges; but by far the most elegant and remarkable example is the vault over the staircase to the hall of Christ Church: this was built about 1640, as appears from the evidence of Antony Wood, who was living at the time, and from the royal arms in the vault having Scotland quartered in them. The elegance of the design of this vault springing from the slender pillar in the centre is much and justly admired, but an examination of the details of the work shews that it is extremely shallow and poor; it is an evidence

of how much may be done by good design even with bad detail.

In London, the hall of the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and Middle Temple hall, copied at Lincoln's Inn in 1860, may be mentioned as good examples of this imitation.

Another attempt at the revival of Gothic was made in the time of Charles the Second; it was still less successful in the details, but even then many of the designs were good. There are many towers of this period of very good proportions, though of very clumsy details. The towers of Westminster Abbey may perhaps be cited as an instance, for although the detail is wretchedly bad, the general effect at a distance is good.

It is remarkable also that the chancels built at this period are as large and deep as those of any earlier period; for instance, the chancel of Islip, Oxfordshire, built by the celebrated Dr. South [a]. The idea of the divines of this period, under whose directions these churches were built, appears to have been that the chancel was the place for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and should bear the same proportion to the body of the church as the number of communicants to the whole congregation. These churches were also usually furnished with credence-tables [b], and lecterns, many of which remain.

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[a] This historical example was unfortunately destroyed in 1860 (?), by what is falsely called *restoration*, which usually means the total destruction of every original feature and the substitution of the wretched *improvement* of some modern architect, who entirely despises and ignores the history of his art.

[b] So called from the Italian *credenza*, a side-board.

Even during the eighteenth century, when every kind of taste was at the lowest possible ebb, the people seem to have still retained a lingering wish for the imitation of Gothic or Christian forms, and many rude attempts may be seen in our country churches: and although the architects and builders considered it necessary to repress this taste, and make everything in the pseudo-Grecian or Pagan style, still the love for the Gothic would peep out here and there. The spire is essentially a Gothic feature, unknown to Classical art; yet many spires were rebuilt, and even new ones built, during this period. The spire of All Saints' Church, Oxford, a fine example [c], was built from the designs of Dean Aldrich, soon after 1700, and notwithstanding the purely Italian character of the building, there is a sort of Gothic tracery in the tower windows. The same curious and evidently unintentional mixture may be observed in the tower windows of the church of St. Clement Danes, Strand, which are of a common Gothic form.

Towards the close of that century arose the school of Horace Walpole and Batty Langley, which, however ridiculous it may appear to us now, served to keep alive the taste for Gothic forms, and paved the way for the revival which has taken so glorious a start in our own day, and to the improved character of which "The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture" materially contributed, by acting on the minds both of the architects and of their patrons, and

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[c] This elegant and interesting spire was taken down in 1873, and rebuilt, being much out of repair and supposed to be dangerous.

enforcing upon them the necessity for the careful study of ancient examples [d].

[d] The Oxford Architectural Society, established in 1839, was the earliest in the field, the Cambridge Camden Society was very nearly simultaneous with it, and the idea was rapidly taken up and followed subsequently in numerous other places; still it is only just to give Oxford the credit of having originated the movement. Upon the whole, this movement has done much good, although accompanied by much evil, occasioned by the exuberant zeal of young men eagerly setting about the "restoration" of their churches before they knew the proper mode of doing it, and before either architects or workmen were prepared for the work. In consequence of this unfortunate haste, many valuable specimens of ancient art have been irreparably destroyed, instead of being carefully preserved as models for future ages. At the time that the movement for the revival of the old English architecture began, it was almost impossible to get workmen to execute the details of it with any tolerable accuracy, all the prejudices of their education in their trade were against it. Much credit is due to Mr. Blore for his perseverance in establishing a school of workmen. This idea was afterwards taken up by others, and more recently the Architectural Museum was formed to supply the workmen with models, chiefly by the support of Mr. A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, M.P., who had been one of the leaders of the Cambridge Camden Society.

The Oxford Society in 1860 changed its title to the "Oxford Architectural and Historical Society." The object of this change is to connect the study of architecture with that of history, which now forms part of the course of study pursued at the University. It is obvious, on a very little consideration, that the architecture of every people is an essential part of its history, although it has hitherto been entirely neglected by historians. As the Oxford Society is now under the patronage of the Professors of Modern History and of Ecclesiastical History, we may venture to expect that this long neglect will be remedied, and that the history of architecture will form a regular part of the studies of the University.

PART II.

ON THE FOREIGN STYLES.

THE close connection which has always existed between England and the Continent of Europe, and the habit of travelling for which the English people were distinguished from a very early period, could not fail to have considerable influence on their architecture, and it is in vain to contend for an exclusively English and isolated character for it. A great deal of the detail was developed and worked out at home, but new ideas were continually imported from abroad. The English Gothic is as thoroughly national as that of any other country; perhaps, from our insular position, it is even more distinct and independent than that of any other people. Still the influence of each age, the changes of each successive generation, participate in a certain general character everywhere throughout the civilised world. The style of the thirteenth century is distinctly marked above and through all national or provincial distinctions; these are all subordinate to the great principles of the epoch. The early period at which Englishmen began to travel is curiously illustrated by the fact recorded by Florence of Worcester, that in the year 1031 King Canute went to Rome and made some fresh arrangements with the Pope for the treatment of the English bishops when they went to Rome to receive their palls: he also took the opportunity of the chief princes of Europe being assembled there, especially Conrad, Emperor of Germany, and Rodolph, King of Burgundy, to make treaties with them to allow a free and unmolested passage to and from Rome through their dominions, for English travellers, whether ecclesiastics or merchants. These treaties appear to have been faithfully carried out, and to have led to the established custom of protection for travellers which generally prevailed throughout the Middle Ages; and perhaps to the system of passports, which were at first a real protection to the traveller, though they degenerated into a mere formality.

These frequent journeys of the most highly educated classes

to Rome had a very beneficial effect on the arts, and especially on architecture. It was not merely what the bishops or merchants saw in Rome itself, but what they and their suite saw on their passage to and fro. Whatever was passing in any part of Europe, whatever new inventions were discovered in any place, were sure to be speedily known and seen by these English travellers, and brought home for the benefit of their own country. Some went by one line, others by a different one. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries one great line of traffic was through the English provinces in the west of France, by Narbonne and the Mediterranean to Rome. Normandy was practically part of England from 1066. Anjou, Poitou, and Guienne, or Aquitaine, were added by Henry II. about 1150, and in this manner about a third of what now constitutes France was then part of the English dominions, and could not but exercise great influence upon art in England during the latter half of the twelfth century, the exact period of the great change of style. Another line was through Burgundy and by the Rhone to Marseilles. A third line was by the Rhine and the Alps, but this was only passable at certain seasons, and not much frequented. That the custom of carrying a sketch-book in the pocket and bringing home sketches of all novelties in art prevailed from an early period, we have proof in the very remarkable Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort[a], an architect of Picardy in the first half of the thirteenth century, which has been preserved, and has been published and admirably illustrated by M. Lassus and Professor Willis[b]. There is no reason to suppose that Wilars was at all singular in this practice, and as the English architects had in this manner a much greater range of observation than those of other countries, the result to be naturally expected is greater perfection in their art, and to this they really attained.

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[a] "Album de Villars de Honecort, architecte du XIII. siècle manuscrit publié en facsimile, annoté par J. B. A. Lassus." Paris, 1858, 4to.

[b] "Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort, an architect of the thirteenth century, illustrated by Commentaries, &c., by M. J. B. A. Lassus, Translated, Edited, and Augmented, with many new Articles and Notes, and with the Remarks of M. J. Quicherat, Professor of Archæology at the Ecole des Chartes, at Paris; by the Rev. R. Willis, Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge." London, 1859, 4to.

The Gothic of England is more perfect, more pure, more systematic, better proportioned, more consistent than that of any other country. The *exteriors* in particular are more attended to, and better proportions preserved in them. The plan and the limits of this work do not allow of entering into this question in detail, but while tracing the gradual development of Gothic Architecture in England, we must bear in mind that our architects could never be ignorant of what was going on in any part of the continent of Europe, and never failed to avail themselves of such knowledge. Yet they never servilely copied any other country; they adapted the new features to their own style; there is no hiatus, no jump in English Gothic; the progress is always steady, gradual, almost imperceptible; it takes a generation to bring about the change from one style to another. They never stuck on pretty bits from France or Italy to their English buildings; they knew how to make use of the novelties that were brought home to them, and to assimilate and dovetail them into their own work.

It would be desirable to complete this sketch of the history of Gothic architecture in England by a similar outline of its progress in other parts of Europe, and a comparison of the dates of each successive change in England and on the Continent[e]. Unfortunately, the materials for such comparison are

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[e] The works of M. De Caumont afford much valuable information for the study of French architecture, but he has himself found reason to change his opinion in many instances respecting the dates of particular buildings, and at the meeting of the "Société Française pour la Conservation des Monumens," held at Rennes in August, 1849, he publicly acknowledged that the greater part of the buildings usually assigned by French antiquaries to the eleventh century are really of the twelfth, and that the period of transition, which he had formerly described as comprising the whole of the twelfth century, ought strictly to be confined to the latter half of it. This change of opinion was acquiesced in by nearly all the leading antiquaries of France who were present at the meeting. This agreement with the opinions of the English antiquaries will greatly promote further researches, but at present very little has been done towards a systematic comparison of the architecture of France and England. The French antiquaries know English architecture by engravings only, especially the works of the elder Pugin, who, having also published a work on Normandy, was well known there, and his works had great influence at the beginning of this revival. M. De Caumont himself had scarcely seen any-

not at present provided; the subject has not yet been sufficiently investigated: the exact dates of the different parts of the principal continental buildings have not been ascertained with sufficient accuracy. It is clear that the progress was not quite simultaneous, but which country or which province has the priority of date has not yet been settled. The variations between the different provinces of France are almost as great as those between France and England; for, in fact, each province was almost an independent kingdom at the time when these buildings were erected, and some of them had never been even nominally subject to the French crown. Each had an architectural style of its own, and a careful observer may readily mark out the different provinces by the existing buildings. Not only is the style of the western quite distinct from that of the eastern provinces, which might naturally be expected from their having so little communication with each other at the time these buildings were erected, but even those which border on each other, and where more frequent communication between the people might have been expected, have also each a distinct character. For instance, the Domaine

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thing of England, and the French antiquaries in general know very little of English Gothic by personal inspection, and are not disposed to admit its superiority in any respect, although the entire absence of Classical or Italian details does certainly prove it to be a more pure Gothic style.

After the publication of the first edition of this work I had many opportunities of meeting the principal antiquaries of France, and of discussing these interesting questions with them, both at their annual meetings in some provincial town, and at the "Congrès des Deputés des Sociétés Savantes," which was held at Paris in the spring of each year. M. De Caumont has paid me the compliment of printing in the *Bulletin Monumental* a little memoir on the "Comparative Progress of Architecture in England and France in the Middle Ages," read at the meeting in Paris in 1860, and I was glad to find that there was so little difference of opinion between us; on all the main points we are entirely agreed. To M. Viollet-le-Duc I am also greatly indebted for the opportunities he has afforded me of conversing with him on these subjects whenever I have been in Paris, and of accompanying him to Sens and S. Denis, where he clearly pointed out to me the different changes which the buildings have undergone, the most important of which I have mentioned. To him I am also indebted for the information respecting the different mode of construction employed in English and French vaulting at all periods, a sure mark of a distinct school of art.

Royal, the Duchy of Burgundy, and the County of Champagne have each so marked a character, that the line of demarcation between one province and another may be clearly traced by the buildings still remaining.

M. De Caumont, one of the highest authorities, and one of the most careful observers of his day, says[d] that the Romanesque styles, as distinct from the Gothic, continued in use until *the end* of the thirteenth century, not only in the Rhine provinces, but also in Lorraine, the Lyonnais, (or neighbourhood of Lyons, the ancient province of Vienne,) and in the south of France generally. I should hardly have ventured to assert so much as this, but there is no doubt that some provinces were much behind others.

Normandy, in the twelfth century, was an English province; the difference in style between that and other districts, even in the north of France, and joining on to it, was far more marked than between Normandy and England; even the very plans of the churches are quite distinct. In England and in Normandy we have long narrow naves, with side aisles, also generally narrow in the earlier buildings. In Anjou and Poitou the style of that period is called by the French antiquaries the "Plantagenet style," and correctly, as matter of history; but the name has not been adopted by English writers, and we have no similar buildings in England. Neither in Normandy nor in England was the central space, whether choir or nave, vaulted over before the middle of that century. The vaults over the central space of the abbey churches at Caen are additions to the original building, almost a century later. At Sens, also, the central vaults were added after the great fire in 1184, that is, just *after* Canterbury was finished. In Normandy the round abacus of the capitals is common: it is rarely found in any other part of France, and yet it is almost a neces-

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[d] See De Caumont, *Abécédaire ou Rudiment d' Archéologie*, 1850, p. 183. I gladly take the opportunity of recommending this very useful and interesting book, of which several editions have been published. The author died in 1873, after a long and most useful course; he had been a writer on Archæology for forty years; he was the founder of the "Société Française d'Archéologie pour la Conservation et la Description des Monumens Nationaux," and began the publication of the *Bulletin Monumental* in 1834, a most valuable periodical, still continued.

sary feature of the Gothic style. The plain round moulded capitals also occur, though not so frequently as in England. Detached shafts to the jambs of windows or doorways are common in both. Windows of two lights and of three lights, separated by mullions, and without tracery at first, are also both English and Norman. In an architectural point of view, Normandy may be considered as a part of England, from the time of the Conquest to that of King John, that is, during the whole period of the Anglo-Norman style.

Brittany was subject to English influence at a later period. The river Loire was a great line of division in the style of buildings on either side of it. In the English province of Guienne, which was a part of Aquitaine, there is a singular variation of style. In the English cities founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with certain privileges to freemen, from which they are called *villes franches*, we often have a good deal of English character in the architecture. Guienne was attached to the crown of England under Henry II. by hereditary right of his mother, and it continued to belong to it for two or three centuries, during which it has been called by good local antiquaries, *La Guienne Anglaise;* but the English influence on the architecture was comparatively small. In a considerable part of Aquitaine the Byzantine style had been introduced by a colony of Greek or Byzantine merchants, in the province of Perigord, of which Perigueux was the capital. S. Front, at Perigueux, was a distinctly Byzantine church, and there are many others in the same province. The Byzantine influence extends over a large part of the south of France or Aquitaine, which had retained the Roman civilization longer than any other part of Europe; we find it extending as far as Agen, where the cathedral church of S. Caprais[e] is almost Byzantine, and it may fairly be said to have extended to the Pyrenees. It extended also to the north as far as Fontevrault, where the great abbey church was vaulted over in a series of cupolas or domes of the Byzantine fashion.

My lamented friend, M. Felix de Verneilh, published a most

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[e] A plan and section of the cathedral of S. Caprais, at Agen, has been published in the *Bulletin Monumental* for 1873, and clearly shews its Byzantine character.

valuable work on the Byzantine architecture in France[f]; and he went to the east to examine and compare other Byzantine buildings. He was one of the best archæologists in Europe, and his works are of permanent value; he died young,—too young for the cause of archæology or history. His favourite church of S. Front de Perigueux has been entirely rebuilt, but on the old plan, and the old church copied as faithfully as modern ideas would permit. The present church is a rebuilding of the nineteenth century, and therefore is deprived of its value in the history of art, but his excellent drawings were made from the original structure.

In the lower part of the mountains of the Pyrenees there are many churches of early Romanesque character, some of them partaking of the character which, in England, is Anglo-Saxon; but the history of these churches has never been well investigated, or the dates ascertained. Mid-wall shafts of belfry windows are a feature that prevail everywhere, and are in themselves no proof of early date anywhere but in England, where they were not used after the Norman style came into general use; but in Aquitaine, or in Italy, and on the Rhine, and in other parts of Germany they are of all periods. In that part of the kingdom of Burgundy, of which Grenoble was the capital, which now forms the south-east corner of France, the architecture is extremely rude, down to the end of the twelfth century, and was always behind the rest of France and of Europe from its remote situation.

In the great diocese of Lyons, originally of Vienne in Dauphiny, which included a considerable part of the banks of the Rhone and the Saone, a peculiarity was observed by M. de Caumont and the Society of which he was the leader. The *fluted columns*, in imitation of the Roman Ionic, continued to be used down to the thirteenth century, where they are found in the apse of the cathedral of Lyons itself. This is attributed to the copying of a Roman building at Orange, which has served as a type for the whole of the province, when the general revival of building was begun in the eleventh century. Further in the north-east, the Duchy of Burgundy,

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[f] "*L'Architecture Byzantine en France*, S. Front de Perigueux et les églises en coupole de l'Aquitaine, par M. Felix de Verneilh." Paris, 1851, 4to.

of which Dijon was the capital, has some very beautiful work of the thirteenth century, such as Notre Dame at Dijon; but it is rather after than before similar work in England, as has been said. The architecture of Picardy, and of French Flanders, is some of the finest in France; and as there was constant communication with Normandy and England, it is often difficult to tell which had the priority. The diocese of Laon is very remarkable in many ways, and has a peculiarity in the general use of the square east end of the church, which is usually an English feature only.

Our space does not permit us to enter into details respecting any of the provinces of France, many of which were, as we have said, independent states at the time that such medieval buildings were erected. There is an excellent list of the historical monuments of France in the last volume of the very valuable *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française, du* XI^e^ *au* XVI^e^ *Siècle, par M. Viollet-le-Duc, Architecte*, Paris, 1868. This excellent systematic catalogue, with the details, itself occupies a whole volume of considerably larger size than this pocket companion.

It is still the custom of most writers on architecture in France to attribute to the eleventh century[8] that large class of buildings which we are accustomed to call Norman, and which we know to be of the twelfth century. But this is, in fact, an error of the same kind as our fathers fell into when they called all these buildings Saxon. There are undoubtedly many buildings in France of the eleventh century of well-ascertained date, such as the crypt, the apse, and the transepts of the cathedral of Nevers,—this church was founded in 1028,—and part of the

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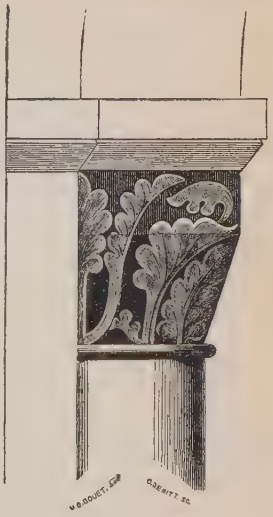
[8] In all countries it is very common to call the century by the same name as the figures that represent it in printing; thus 1120 or 1150 are frequently called the eleventh century: this is of course seen to be an error when people think about it, but few take the trouble to think, and this error may be frequently heard in good society in all countries, more especially perhaps in Italy, where the name of the *Cinque Cento* style is commonly given to buildings of the sixteenth century, from 1500 to 1600 (the first ten being always understood in Italian). But this error is not by any means confined to Italy. In 1872, one of the best antiquaries of Laon, in Picardy, told me that his church was of the *twelfth* century; and when I asked him what part of it, he replied *about* 1240.

crypt of the cathedral at Auxerre, founded in 1005; and at Cerisy le foret a considerable portion of the original structure, founded in 1032, still remains; both of these buildings may be mentioned as types of the eleventh century, allowing for certain modifications. But the character of the work in these buildings is altogether different, and evidently earlier.

In many instances the actual construction of the walls of the original building of the eleventh century remains when the whole of the ornamentation, and consequently the appearance of the work, has been changed in the twelfth. Careful examination is required to ascertain this, and to distinguish the changes that have been made, but this may be done by a careful study of each example. The abbey church of Bernay, in Normandy, now a market-hall, is a good example of this change of ornamentation. S. Remi, at Rheims (or Reims), is another, and in this the original plain capitals are covered over with stucco in which ornamented foliage is worked. This is also the case at Jumièges, where an early capital with the rude Ionic volutes of the eleventh century has been plastered over and painted towards the end of the twelfth century.



167. Abbey of Jumieges, Normandy. Capital of pilaster painted on plaster, upon an earlier stone capital.

At Moissac the celebrated cloisters have been entirely altered in a similar manner; the square piers with their shallow carving in marble, and the main fabric, belong to the date of 1100, recorded by an inscription on one of them, but the light elegant twin shafts, with their beautifully sculptured capitals, are a century later. The same is the case in the very fine abbey church at Toulouse,

as may be seen in the wall of the apse behind the altar, and in other parts. In England and other countries the carving was very frequently executed long after the building was erected, and larger windows were often inserted in the place of the original small and narrow ones. Capitals were generally carved after they were placed, and when convenient; mouldings, on the other hand, were worked before they were placed.

Normandy.—It has been already pointed out (pp. 40, 41) that little remains visible of the original work at the two great abbeys at Caen, and it is not until near the end of the eleventh century that we find any of those large and fine churches of the type which belongs to the twelfth. The church of S. Stephen at Nevers, consecrated in 1097, is still in the style of the eleventh rather than of the twelfth. The vaults of the nave and choir are plain barrel-vaults; those of the aisles are groined without ribs, and without even the dividing arches between the bays, which came in before ribs. The magnificent church of Vezelay, which is referred, even by so high an authority as M. Viollet-le-Duc, to the eleventh century, is distinctly of a later character than S. Stephen at Nevers, and scarcely any portion of the existing building really belongs to that period. This church was dedicated in 1104, under the Abbot Arnald, who had built it, as is distinctly recorded [b]. But according to the usual custom of that age, the choir would naturally be dedicated as soon as it was ready for divine service, without waiting for the nave, or vestibule, as it was then called, which was often not built until long afterwards. In this instance it was built very soon after the choir, and belongs to the first half of the twelfth century. But the choir was entirely rebuilt about a century after the original one, of which the only portions remaining are a small part of the crypt and the two eastern piers of the nave; these are of the same kind of masonry as we find at Nevers, Auxerre, &c., and quite distinct from the rest of the work in the nave or choir. The very rich western doorways with shallow porches over them, are of the latter part of the twelfth, and the rest of the narthex was added in the beginning of the thirteenth.

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[b] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. iv. p. 922, ed. Paris, 1656.

The usual custom to build in wood in Normandy in the first half of the eleventh century, is well shewn by the fact beforementioned, that M. De Caumont and a party of good French archæologists examined the sites of all the castles of the Norman barons who went over to England with William the Conqueror, in order to ascertain the construction of stone walls of that period, that is, in the first half of the eleventh century, To their surprise they found no masonry at all in any of them; there were fine earthworks in all of them, the wooden buildings had disappeared[1]. There is one exception to this, but it is just one of those exceptions which prove the rule. The castle of Plessis was built about the middle of the eleventh century, of stone, and was conquered by William before the time of the Conquest of England. But the construction is of rough stone and herring-bone work, as in so many other buildings of the eleventh century, and not of cut stone.

The nature of the building-materials employed in the construction of each country, or each district, had necessarily considerable influence in the architecture. The excellent building-stones found in that part of Normandy called Calvados, usually called Caen stone, because the chief quarries of it are near Caen, was known at a very early period, and was no doubt one of the principal causes of Normandy being in advance of other provinces when the great revival of building in stone began, in the eleventh century. But this excellent stone is not found in all parts of Normandy, and the difficulty of transport by land from one part to another was the same there as in other countries; water-carriage was always so much the cheapest, that the best buildings are generally on the banks of navigable rivers, and it was more easy to send Caen stone across the channel with the tide, and up the rivers in England, than to send it to other parts of France, or even to other parts of Normandy by land. Walls faced with flints, cut or split. which are common in some parts of England, (especially in the low countries and chalk districts where stone is scarce,) are seldom found in France; there is an example at Bec, where it is used in the form of patterns and inscriptions, but this is the only one that has been observed. At a later period in some

[1] See De Caumont, *Abécedaire d' Archéologie Militaire*, pp. 292—300.

districts, flint facings are frequently used in squares, alternately with black and white stone, like a chess-board, and called *checquers*, in the same manner as in some parts of England.

The difference of provincial character is almost as great in the Romanesque buildings of the twelfth century as in the Gothic buildings of a later period: they differ both in details and in plan. For instance, in the province of Anjou the Romanesque churches have usually no aisles; the nave and choir are extremely wide, and divided into square or oblong bays by very massive arch-ribs, which are square in section, and either semicircular or segmental: to resist the thrust of these arches, instead of the usual flying buttresses, are solid square masses of masonry, which are in fact parts of the wall carried out at right angles, having the cornice and strings, or other ornaments, carried round them. The vaults, instead of the usual barrel or groined vault, are domical over each compartment; but these domes are low, and not raised into cupolas, as in Byzantine work, and do not interfere with the external roof, except in some instances at the intersection of the transepts, where a lantern with a cupola is introduced. This remarkable plan prevails in nearly all the churches of Angers and the province of Anjou.

Paris.—There are more medieval buildings remaining in Paris than either the English visitors, or the Parisians themselves, are generally aware of. A few of them are indeed well known and celebrated, such as the Cathedral of Notre Dame for the period of Transition and the Early French style, and the Sainte Chapelle for the Decorated style. These have been already mentioned, but there are several others deserving of the attention of students, and the distinction between English and French Gothic can be seen in Paris as well as any where[j]. Of the Roman period we have the remains of the *thermæ*, which are of considerable interest, and different from any Roman remains in England.

Of the eleventh and twelfth centuries:—the old church of

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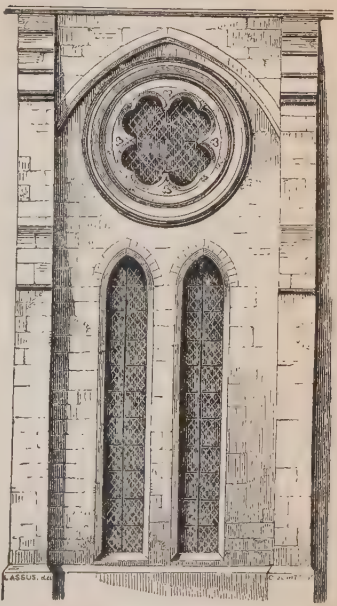
[j] Visitors to Paris should take care to provide themselves with the excellent guide-book of M. F. de Guilhermy, entitled *Description Archéologique des Monumens de Paris*, published by Bance; a second edition in 1856.

Mont-Martre (if it is not destroyed) has an apse and the greater part of the church of this period; the aisles have stone arches across to carry the roof instead of wooden principal beams, and it is (or was in 1870) a curious little church in many respects. The church of S. Julien le Pauvre, near Notre Dame, has been converted into the chapel of the hospital of the Hotel Dieu, and thus has been preserved after having long been desecrated. It is of the latter part of the twelfth century, and of transitional character, with an apse and a good vault, and richly-carved capitals. The church of S. Germain des près is the remnant of what was once a very large and important monastery.

The church of the Priory of S. Martin des Champs (168), now the "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers," is a very remarkable one, not generally understood, and not often seen by English travellers: the apse is probably of the eleventh century, and very curious, with alterations and additions of the twelfth, when the choir was rebuilt; and the nave is of the thirteenth, with windows very characteristic of the early French style.



168. S. Martin des Champs, Paris, c. 1250.

The very light and elegant Refectory of the same priory, is unrivalled for the slenderness of the columns which carry the vault, it is of the *thirteenth* century. The remains of this Priory have been preserved by having been used for a Public Library and a museum of patents.

Of the fourteenth century we have portions of the cathedral

of Notre Dame—the apsidal chapels, and the fine stone screen that encloses the choir with its rich sculpture. The chapel of the college of Beauvais, of the latter part of that century, has been preserved and brought to light. Of the fifteenth century —the church of S. Germain l'Auxerrois, although too much *restored* and altered, still retains the fine porch of Jean Gaussel, built in 1435, and a fine example of the Flamboyant style. S. Severin is also practically of this period and style, though mixed with remains of other periods. Of the sixteenth century —S. Nicholas des Champs is chiefly remarkable for its great length; it has sixteen bays in length, and double side-aisles, with chapels in addition, but it belongs to the latest Gothic. S. Merry is also late Flamboyant, with a subterranean chapel or crypt. S. Médard and S. Etienne du Mont, in the abbey of S. Geneviève, is Flamboyant, with a classical front added. The vault is remarkably lofty, and it has preserved the rood-loft, which is very rich and curious; there is also a magnificent organ-case of carved wood full of figures, and the windows retain some fine painted glass of the seventeenth century. The church of S. Jacques de la Boucherie, was destroyed in 1797, with the exception of the tower, the upper part of which is a fine example of the Flamboyant style. This was entirely enclosed by modern houses, until Napoleon III. had them all cleared away, and the fine tower now stands detached in a public garden.

The Hotel de Cluny is a fine mansion of the sixteenth century, built almost entirely by Jacques d'Amboise, who was Abbot of Cluny and Bishop of Clermont. It has been used as a Museum of Antiquities, and the whole house is carefully preserved, and is itself quite a museum. It now forms one of the most interesting sights of Paris. Of the seventeenth century, there are some remarkable and fine churches in Paris, which retain the Gothic plan of construction, combined with classical details. S. Gervais, rebuilt by Louis XIII. in 1616, and S. Eustache, are the two finest examples; the latter forms one side of the great market-place, and is on an enormous scale, 318 ft. long, and 132 ft. wide, and lofty in proportion; but the original design for the upper part was never completed, the expense of the work was so great that funds could not be raised for the purpose. It was commenced in 1532, and the works were carried on until 1641.

The theory of the Parisian architects is that the first germ of Gothic architecture is to be found at S. Denis, in the work of the Abbé Suger, A.D. 1140—1144; that it was rapidly developed in the Domaine Royal, and brought to perfection under Philip Augustus in the beginning of the thirteenth century; and henceforward was imposed as a badge of sovereignty upon the other provinces as they were brought into subjection to the Royal Domain. This theory appears to me a very doubtful one, and it requires to be better supported by examples of authentic date than has hitherto been done. It may be true of a certain part of France; but similar progress was going on simultaneously in Normandy and in England. The cathedral of Lisieux was building at the same time as Sens, and the original parts[k] of both are so much alike that we might well suppose them to be the work of the same architect, William, who afterwards built Canterbury; but we have no evidence of this, and the resemblance probably arises only from their being of the same date; but then Lisieux is just as much advanced in style as Sens. In both these instances the central vault and clerestory have been rebuilt afterwards, and at Lisieux the apse belongs also to the later work. The nave of the church at Lisieux was built under Bishop Arnulf, a Norman who was forty years bishop, and was finished in 1182, when he resigned the bishopric and retired to the abbey of S. Victor at Paris[l].

The great period of transition in the Royal Domain of France was the time of Philip Augustus, 1179—1223, though it began in the previous reign under the government of the Abbé Suger; in the English provinces, and in England itself, during the time of Henry II., 1154—1189: the new style was fully established under Richard I., 1190—1200. In both countries the examples built during the period of this change of style are so numerous and so fine that it is difficult to say which has the preference: but the French churches have the advantage in their greater height, the more general use of vaulting, and the use of the apse, which afforded an excellent field for the display

[k] The nave-arcades of Lisieux have been restored, but not the clerestory, which is original.

[l] See *Gallia Christiana*, vol. i. p. 649, and Robertus de Monte, *Chron. Ann.*, 1182.

of the genius of the architects in the management of the lofty and narrow arches and the complicated vaulting which this form required. The Duchy of Burgundy is often cited as being in advance of other parts of France at that period, and it certainly has some of the finest examples of transitional churches. Dijon is full of fine medieval buildings; the elegant church of Notre Dame has been mentioned in comparison with Lincoln. Vezelay has also been mentioned: the choir, built in 1190—1195, is a very fine example of the transition. The Cistercian abbey church of La Charité sur Loire is another magnificent church of this style; it was founded in 1133[m], but the church was not completed before 1175—1180, which brings it to the same period as Sens, Lisieux, and Canterbury.

In Soissons and its neighbourhood, or the district called the Soissonnais, nearly all the churches are of the character of transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic, and some of the most learned of the French antiquaries consider that this district was the birthplace of Gothic architecture. It is to be regretted that they have not more carefully investigated the history of these churches. The only one of which the date seems to be ascertained with confidence is the Cathedral of Soissons, which has been already mentioned as *finished* in 1212, thirty years after Canterbury; and yet it is very little more advanced in style, except in the particular feature of plate-tracery. On the other hand, the south transept of Soissons, which is lower than the rest of the building, and evidently belongs to an earlier structure, is itself of transitional character; it is said to have been built between 1168 and 1175. Several other churches of the neighbourhood are of similar character to this transept.

The hall of the public Hospital at Angers (169) has been already mentioned at p. 95, but it appears to form so important a link of connection between the architecture of England and that of Anjou, as to require some further notice. It was built by King Henry II., begun in 1177, and opened by him in state with much ceremony in 1184, the same year that the choir of Canterbury was completed: the mouldings and details are almost pure Gothic, although the windows are round-headed;

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[m] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. iv. p. 217.

the vaulting is very remarkable as a transition between the domical vaults of Anjou and the Early English vault. During

169. Hall of the Hospital at Angers, A.D. 1177—1184.

the time that this hospital was building, Henry II. held his court at Angers, which necessarily assembled the nobles and

prelates from Normandy in the north to Guienne in the south, together with those from England; and a better opportunity for the spread of the new fashion could hardly have been devised. During the same period Anjou was afflicted with a sore famine, and England undertook to feed the people of this province for six months; large quantities of corn were sent over for this purpose, and the large public granary, or barn, attached to this hospital was in all probability erected on that occasion: it is in the style of transition, a little earlier than the hall[a].

It has been mentioned that the churches built by the Crusaders in Palestine are generally very much in the French style of the same period. The cathedral of Bethlehem in France, in the county of Nevers, was built by the Crusaders after their return from Palestine, according to the will of the Count of Nevers, who had founded a cathedral at Bethlehem in Palestine, and died there, but foreseeing the probability that the Crusaders would be driven out of that country, made a proviso that in such case his establishment should be transferred to his estate in France. A small cathedral, or church, was built there accordingly, and endowed with means sufficient to support a bishop and chapter; this establishment was sanctioned by the Pope, and continued to exist until the great French Revolution of 1792. The church is still entire, excepting the west front, although desecrated: the style of this church is pure early French Gothic, without a vestige of Oriental character about it.

The nave of the church of S. Nicholas at Blois, 1186—1210, is of decidedly transitional character, with a fine west window of plate-tracery, which has some resemblance to one at Lincoln, but with no Gothic details; the rest of the work is of far less advanced character than Lincoln.

The provinces of Auvergne and Velay have quite a distinct character of their own. The cathedral of Le Puy in Velay is one of the most remarkable churches in Europe; the lower part of the east wall is of late Roman work, built of fragments of earlier Roman buildings, but the domical vaults and the greater part of the church belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

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[a] See the Gentleman's Magazine, 1859, vol. ccvi. p. 284, and the authorities there cited: 1. The Charter of foundation of the Hospital; 2. Extract from *Gallia Christiana;* 3. Extract from *Radulphus de Diceto.*

Most of the other churches of this very remarkable district belong to the same period: they bear more resemblance to those of Perigord than to any other part of France, but seem rather to be following a common type than copied one from the other. There is little doubt that when the history of these buildings is properly investigated, their apparent anomalies will be found to confirm, rather than to disturb, the general history of architecture; and it is probable that the clue to these variations will be found in the ecclesiastical history of these provinces. We know from early Christian history that the French Church was of Oriental origin, and it seems evident that the different dioceses long maintained a considerable degree of independence, and some of them kept up a friendly intercourse with the Eastern Church, so long as the Greek Emperor at Byzantium continued to command the commerce of the Mediterranean, which was until the middle of the eleventh century°; previous to that time Venice was a subordinate city of the great Empire, to the commerce of which it succeeded. There were two main lines of commerce through France from the east at that period; one ascending the Rhone from Marseilles by Avignon, Vienne, and Lyons, and branching off in various directions, as to Grenoble and Geneva eastward, to Le Puy and Auvergne westward; the other from Narbonne to Perigueux, Limoges, and Poitiers, branching off to Cahors, Augoulême, &c. As usual, commerce, civilization, and religion travelled together and assisted each other. Oriental influences may be traced by these channels in various ways, of which the architecture is one only, although an important one: various local customs are continued; Oriental tissues and reliquaries are still preserved in the treasuries of the churches in obscure places: the distinct uses in the liturgies of different dioceses, each with its own breviary, have also in some instances continued almost to our own day. This connection with the East was more kept up in some dioceses than in others, and the architecture is now perhaps the best record of this connection, but other records are not wanting: Bishop Peter I. of Le Puy was consecrated at Ravenna in 1043, on his return from Palestine; Greek priests are recorded to have resided for a long period at Angoulême in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the street of the Venetians

° See Gibbon's Roman Empire, chap. liii.

at Limoges has been mentioned. This Oriental influence, however, was not uniform in its effects, and was much modified by local circumstances: the style of Auvergne, with its long nave and its barrel-vault, and the segmental vaults to the aisles, the dome over the central space, and semi-dome vaults to the apsidal chapels, is almost confined to that district. The chapel of S. Michael, over the great western porch, or narthex, may perhaps be considered as another of the peculiarities; although it occurs occasionally in many other places, as at Tournus, S. Benoit sur Loire, and in Switzerland at Romainmotier. But they are rare with us, and more common in Auvergne than anywhere else.

The use of tiles inlaid in stone in the face of the wall, for ornament, is another characteristic of Auvergne, though it is used also at Lyons and Vienne[P]; the use of different-coloured stones for external ornament is another feature, very natural in this volcanic district, where the variety of material close at hand is so great; it is more remarkable that they did not use it for internal ornament, but conformed to the medieval usage of a coat of plaster as a ground for painting upon, and trusted almost entirely to painting and gilding for internal ornament, as in other places.

THE EARLY FRENCH STYLE differs in many respects from the Early English, although agreeing with it in general character.

Their churches are generally on a larger scale than ours, and are particularly distinguished by much greater height: this seems to have been the chief object of ambition of the French architects; each strove to make his central vault more lofty than his predecessors, until this was carried to such excess that every idea of proportion in the other parts of the building was sacrificed

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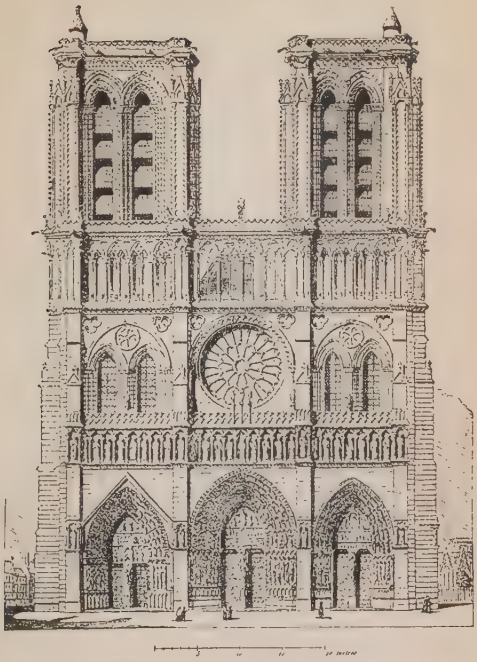
[P] It has been found occasionally in Normandy in early buildings, but very rarely, and the fragments are now chiefly preserved in museums, as at Caen; the examples mentioned by M. De Caumont are at S. Sauveur sur Rille, S. Taurin d'Evreux, and the nave of Bayeux Cathedral.

Paris—Notre Dame.



The West Front, A.D. 1218—1235.

(The Towers had originally wooden spires.)

to it, and the enormous flying-buttresses which were necessary to carry these vaults became perfect scaffoldings of stone, whilst the towers could scarcely be carried above the level of the roof[q]. The larger French churches also have very frequently double aisles, which are a rare feature in England; and as they require the flying-buttresses to be double also, with an upright pinnacle standing up between the divisions, these add considerably to the appearance of stone scaffolding on the exterior.

At S. Denis, almost the only parts remaining of the time of Suger are the crypt and the apsidal chapels: the whole of the interior of the choir, with the clerestory and vault, were rebuilt about a century afterwards; and the flying-buttresses, which rise from the walls between the apsidal chapels to carry the vault of the choir, belong also to the later period. They have the double arches, and serve well to shew the difference between French and English flying-buttresses.

At Beauvais, which is the most lofty choir in Europe, the original magnificent design seems to have been carefully and very gradually carried out, the piers and arches being of the thirteenth century, while the clerestory and vault are of the fourteenth. The central tower has evidently fallen down, and in so doing has destroyed the north-east pier and the arch adjoining to it; and these parts were not rebuilt until the fifteenth

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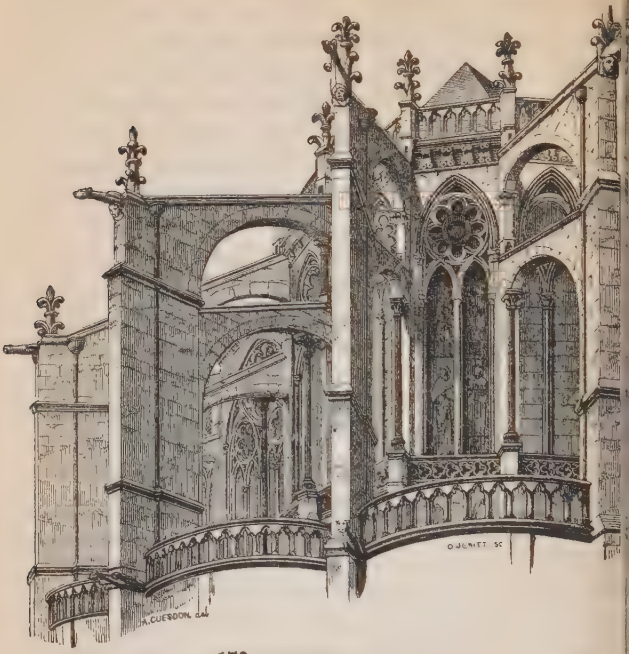
[q] Although the English cathedrals are *longer* than the French or any others, they do not appear so large, from the want of height. Their first effect is less striking, but they grow upon the mind, and seem to develope themselves more, and perhaps they produce the impression of religious awe and reverence more than any others.

century, having the mouldings and details of the Flamboyant style. But no such change of mouldings and



170. S. Denis, Paris, c. 1240.
Shewing the French flying-buttress with two arches, one over the other.

details occurs in the piers and arches of the apse, they are all alike, all apparently built at the same time, and the arches have no appearance of having been altered.

The apsidal form of the east end is almost universal in France, and adds considerably to the striking effect of the interior. The whole of this division of the

church has a character of great elevation, produced or added to by the elongation of its component parts: the arches are lofty and narrow, generally stilted; the small arches of the triforium-arcade are also drawn closer together, and elongated in the same manner; the windows are long and narrow, usually lancet-shaped, and single lights, even though all the side windows are of two lights. The vault often partakes of the same character, the cells being deep and narrow, comprising only one window in width, and springing from near the bottom of it. In other instances, however, the vault is of a different character, each bay comprising two or more windows.

EARLY FRENCH PILLARS are usually plain, round, clumsy columns, with capitals of Classical character, generally an imitation of the Corinthian or Composite, and with the square abacus; the bases have square plinths with ornaments on the angles, exactly like those which are common in England in transitional Norman work, but are not found afterwards; the pillars altogether are of the same character, closely resembling those of Canterbury Cathedral and Oakham Castle. The beautiful clustered pillars of the Early English style are not unknown, but comparatively seldom used in France; and when used are heavier than the English examples.

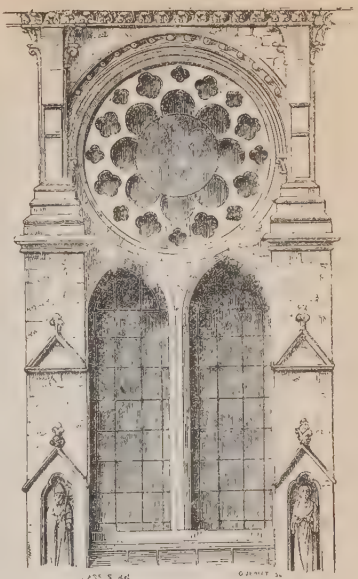
Another class of pillars common in France, especially in the apse, is rare in England, although it is used at Canterbury; this consists of two shafts, or small columns, coupled together transversely to the wall, carrying a long impost through its thickness;

these twin shafts are often very close together, but sometimes have an interval between them. Coupled shafts of this kind were used at Ravenna, round the tomb of Theodoric, and are common in Italy, especially in cloisters; and the same fashion prevails in the south of France, which imitated Italy in many things: good examples occur at Arles and Moissac, and they are very common, perhaps more so than single shafts in that situation.

EARLY FRENCH ARCHES have almost invariably a square soffit, with or without a boutell on the angle, and seldom have any other mouldings. The form of the arch depends entirely on its situation: those of the apse are narrow, and usually stilted. The small arcades along the side walls and those of the triforium, differ little from similar arcades in England, except that the shafts have almost always the square abacus. But the double arcades, one before the other, with the arches alternate, such as we find at Lincoln, Beverley, the galilee porch at Ely, and in numerous other examples in England, are found only in some parts of France.

EARLY FRENCH WINDOWS are either plain lancets, or consist of two lights under one arch, and the head of these is frequently pierced with a circular opening (**169**), at first plain, afterwards foliated, but still cut through the solid stone, and not formed of the mullion-bars; and there is a considerable interval of solid stone between the heads of the lower lights and these circular openings, as at Soissons, Chartres, Rheims, Auxerre, Bourges, &c. At Chartres (**171**), Laon, and

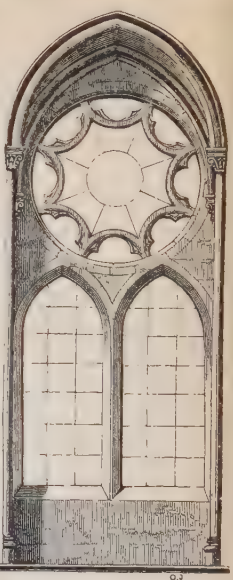
in many other instances, the foliated circle is surrounded by a number of small openings, in the form of trefoils or quatrefoils, still pierced through the solid stone, and not formed of bars as in the later kind of tracery. As the style advanced, the thickness of the intervening space is gradually diminished, until in the later examples of this style we have actual bar-tracery (**172**), but still the early forms of foliated circles and trefoils are preserved, as at Amiens, Noyon (**173**), and the Sainte Chapelle at Paris; these bear a close resemblance to the later specimens of the Early English style, as the chapter-houses of Salisbury and Wells, and the presbytery of Lincoln. The French examples of this kind of tracery have probably the priority of date by from ten to twenty years, and the earlier kind of tracery, for distinction called by Pro-



171. Chartres Cathedral, c. 1220.
Shewing a foliated circle of plate-tracery, surrounded by small quatrefoils of the same, in the head of a window of two lights.

fessor Willis plate-tracery, is abundantly used in France, while it is comparatively rarely found in England.

Circular windows are much more commonly used in France than in England, in all the styles. In the Early French style they are of the same character as the circular opening over the side windows at Chartres.



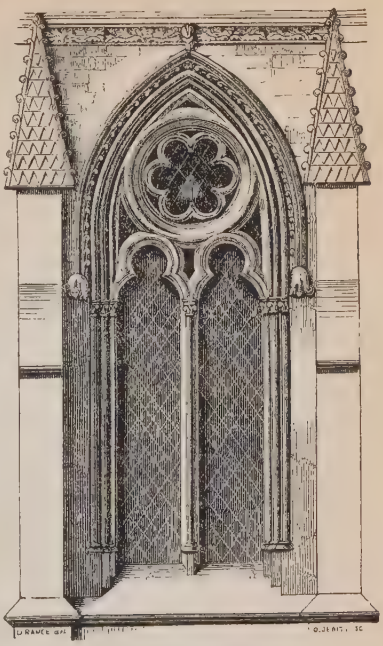
172. Auxerre Cathedral, c. 1240
Shewing a foliated circle with bar-tracery, the foliation within the cusps. In English work the cusps would be turned the other way.

The earlier windows are usually entirely without mouldings, often not even splayed, mere holes cut straight through the stone wall; even in the later examples of this style the mouldings are very few and poor, and are often entirely wanting.

It may be observed that French windows in the aisles are generally higher from the ground than English ones; it is rare for the sills to be low enough for a person to look into the church from the outside, which in England is very commonly the case: this appears to arise only from the greater height of the French churches altogether.

EARLY FRENCH MOULDINGS are usually less bold and less rich than the Early English, although some of the arches of doorways of this style are very richly moulded;

the window-arches are commonly without any: there are generally mouldings round the edges of the bay in which the window is placed, but at an interval of a foot or two from the window, and connected rather with the vault and the vaulting-shafts than with the window. The ribs have commonly but few mouldings; the arch-ribs are almost always square in section, and often quite plain. The cornice is usually filled with foliage of the stiff-leaf character, or sometimes a kind of crockets; in other instances, of a character resembling the Greek foliage used in England chiefly in late Norman work.



173. Noyon Cathedral, c. 1250.

EARLY FRENCH DOORWAYS are generally larger and finer than the Early English, and more enriched with sculpture, having large figures in the jambs, and smaller ones upon the arches, with canopies and corbels. They

are usually protected by porches, which are either shallow, and almost form part of the doorways, as at Amiens, or have a bold projection, as at Chartres.

There are usually three doorways at the west end, and when they have porches in this situation, these have not in general much projection, in order that they may not interfere with the general effect of the west front. There are also sometimes three doorways at the end of each transept, and here the porches are generally a more prominent feature, and much enriched with sculpture. The two porches, with the doorways, at the north and south ends of the transept of Chartres, are the richest parts of the building; but this is an exceptional instance. Amongst the sculptures are figures of the donors or principal benefactors; and as these figures are repeated in the painted glass above, with their armorial bearings, they are identified as persons living between 1250 and 1280.

174. Soissons Cathedral, A.D. 1212.

EARLY FRENCH CAPITALS have almost always the square abacus, and when not of the Corinthian

character they are ornamented with foliage of very similar character to the Early English, called stiff-leaf foliage (**174**), but the work is in general not so highly finished, nor so elegant and graceful. The moulded capitals, bell-shaped without foliage, which are so common in Early English work, are scarcely found at all in France.

EARLY FRENCH BASES are either of the character which in England is transitional Norman, or they are nearly the same as the Early English, with the deep hollow to hold water. In some instances the plinth is ornamented with fluting, or otherwise enriched.

EARLY FRENCH ORNAMENTS differ much from the Early English, except the foliage, which is of nearly the same character, though generally not so highly finished, and less elegant. The tooth-ornament, which in England is so abundantly used as to be rarely wanting in a building of this period, is rarely found in the Royal Domain of France. An ornament closely approaching to it is found in transitional work, as it is also in England, but the true tooth-ornament with undercutting, which is one of its chief characteristics, is found only in some parts of France, and does not occur in some of the finest buildings of this style, where we should naturally expect to find it; and when used at all, it is very sparingly. Its place is supplied either by crockets or by foliage; and in the hood-moulds of windows, the hollow mouldings of canopies, &c., an ornament not found in England is freely used; it sometimes bears a resemblance to the ball-flower, but is in general more like a rose.

Early French Buttresses are generally very massive and bold; in the earlier examples quite plain, but in later ones enriched with shafts and pinnacles, and often with figures under canopies on the face of them. From the great height of the vaults to be supported, the flying-buttresses often consist of two, sometimes of three arches, one above the other, and under each arch there is usually a detached shaft near the face of the wall, but separated from it by a passage (**170** ; the lower arch is also frequently filled up with an arcade of small arches, or a range of small shafts. Each of the large separate buttresses is often quite a fine structure.

Early French Towers do not greatly differ from the Early English, but the belfry windows are frequently much more elongated, often forming a triplet of long narrow lancets (**175**[r]); and these are frequently well moulded, even when the windows of the church are entirely

175. Mortain, Normandy, c. 1250.

[r] The example here given is perhaps rather an exceptional one than what is usual, but for that very reason it indicates more clearly the idea, and shews the marked difference in the recesses between an English and a French belfry-tower of the same period.

without mouldings. These towers are frequently placed at the angles of the west front and of the two transept fronts, but seldom rise much above the level of the roof, because they are often left un-

176. Versainville, c. 1250.
Tower with saddle-back roof.

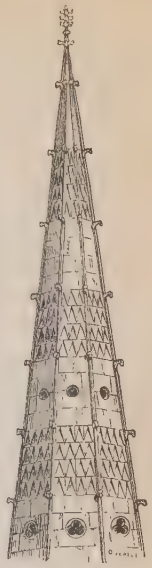
finished. They are sometimes terminated by square pyramids hardly amounting to spires, but these belong generally to the earlier period; short octagonal spires of wood, covered with slate or shingles, are sometimes

used, and round or conical spires, which are generally placed on an octagonal belfry-story[8]. In small village churches the tower is often in the centre, and frequently terminated by a high-pitched roof, with two gables, commonly called a saddle-back roof: this kind of roof is very common in some parts of France, especially in the Cotentin and other districts of Normandy. These sometimes have a stair-turret in the centre of one of the sides, of a semi-hexagonal form, corbelled out at the top to form a square, and carry a similar roof to the tower itself, as at Versainville (176). In the Cotentin, an octagonal tower often has the angles corbelled out to carry the square base of a saddle-back roof, the effect of which is extremely picturesque, but the antiquity of these roofs is somewhat doubtful: in some instances the roof is considerably later than the tower; in fact, this fashion seems to have continued in that district quite to the last century, along with ridge-crest tiles and other medieval customs.

Early French spires differ considerably from the English type. They are generally octagonal, with a small round moulding on the angle. Some of the finest examples are St. Stephen's at Caen, the old one at Chartres, and that of Vendome, all belonging to the early Gothic. Openings are pierced at intervals, sometimes merely small round holes, sometimes trefoils or quatrefoils; and at intervals between these openings are bands of ornament cut upon the surface, most commonly in the form of wooden shingles, as at

[8] For more full information respecting the church towers of France, see the article *Clocher* in the admirable *Dictionnaire* of M. Viollet-le-Duc.

St. Peter's at Caen (**177**), the actual date of which is A.D. 1308; but its style is that of the thirteenth century. At a somewhat later period there are also very commonly crockets on the angles of the spire, sometimes large, more often small, and at more rare intervals than is the case in England, where crockets are used; but in English work they are not so frequently used. There are several very fine Early French spires in the neighbourhood of Caen; but perhaps the most remarkable in France is that of the Kreisker Church at S. Pol de Léon, in Brittany: from its enormous height, and the consequent great projection of the buttresses, the whole church seems built as a support to the spire.



177. St. Peter's, Caen.

The West Fronts of Early French churches are generally very fine, though it is rare to find one perfect. The design is generally the same, or there is at least a great general resemblance: the principal features are three large doorways, usually very much enriched with sculpture: over the central doorway is a large window, which generally has a foliated circle in the upper part of it, and over this the gable, crocketed, sometimes with sculpture on the face of it, and a small figure on the finial. On each side are the flanking towers, which, if perfect, are

terminated by spires; in the larger buildings and wide fronts these towers are outside of the aisles, and consequently clear of the side doorways; more commonly they are over the west end of the aisles, and consequently the doorways form part of the towers. In the earlier examples the windows of the towers are simple lancets; as the style advances they become united and more enriched, and the belfry windows elongated to an extent never found in England: under these is often a small circular window with plate-tracery pierced through the stone in simple forms.

The central division in the earlier examples usually has three lancet windows with a large circular window of plate-tracery over them; in later examples the whole of these openings are drawn together, and form one large window, the spaces between being gradually diminished until we have actual bar-tracery. These later examples approach very nearly to the Decorated style, but the mouldings, and the character of the foliage and sculpture, mark them as still belonging to the Early French style. In small churches there are frequently three lancet windows only at the west end.

Having now compared the principal points of difference between the Early French and the Early English style, it becomes necessary to refer to a few examples, and compare them on historical grounds, for which purpose it will be most convenient to follow the chronological arrangement.

One of the earliest examples of the Early French style is Soissons, the choir of which was finished in 1212, as shewn by the evidence of a contemporary inscription in one of the side-chapels. The nave is somewhat later, but is continued in exactly the same style. There are still some vestiges of the Romanesque style throughout this church, and though it can hardly be called a transitional building, it is clearly one of the earliest examples

of the new style. It bears considerable resemblance to the choir of Canterbury, the large arches and pillars being quite of the same character. The triforium arcade consists of small, narrow pointed arches, with capitals of the usual character, stiff-leaf foliage, and square abacus. The windows of the apse and aisles are lancet-shaped; those of the clerestory have foliated circles in the head, pierced through the solid wall without any mouldings, but slightly chamfered on the exterior.

The next example in character, and probably in actual date, is Chartres, the nave of which is nearly as massive as Norman work, although the effect of heaviness is removed by the enormous height. The church was destroyed by fire in 1194, and the present fabric was commenced soon afterwards. The only portions remaining of the earlier fabric are the crypts, and part of the west front, comprising the lower part of both the towers, and the whole of the southern one, which has the date of 1164 cut on the soffit of a window-arch near the top; these parts of the work, with the fine western doorways, are of transitional character. It is probable that the choir was less damaged by the fire than the other parts, as, contrary to the usual practice, the nave of the present building is the earliest, and is more massive than the choir: it probably dates from about 1200 to 1230. The windows (171) have foliated circles in the head, or rather over them, of very early character, and entirely of plate-tracery. The very rich doorways and porches at the ends of the transepts, which are perhaps the finest in France, were executed between 1250 and 1280. The choir is of nearly the same date; it was dedicated in 1260. The buttresses of this eastern part are considerably lighter than those of the nave, which are amazingly heavy and massive, as if the workmen were still afraid to trust them to support the vault at so great a height[t].

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[t] The dates of the different parts of Chartres Cathedral are given on the authority of the Abbé Bulteau, a very learned and intelligent antiquary, who has for several years carefully investigated the history of his cathedral, and has amassed considerable materials for a new work on the subject, including the iconography, which is highly interesting, and which no one could illustrate more satisfactorily than himself. [His description of the Cathedral of Chartres was published in 1850, after this note had appeared in our first edition.]

Simultaneously with these, that is, during the first half of the thirteenth century, an immense number of great works were being carried on in France, and to this period belong the greater part of their finest cathedrals. The limits of this work will allow of only a very brief selection.

Rheims Cathedral was commenced in 1211, and the canons took possession of the choir in 1241[u], but the church was not finished until near the end of the fifteenth century. The nave is of three periods, although the original style is exceedingly well imitated. Probably, as at Cologne, the west front was begun soon after the choir, and a great part of it belongs to the latter half of the thirteenth century. In 1295 a fresh effort was made to raise money by an appeal to the charity of the faithful towards the completion of the church, which, however, was not finished in 1430, according to Dom. Mariot. The church was much injured by a fire in 1481, which destroyed the five towers of the transepts; and the fury of it was so great that the bells were all melted, and the molten lead ran in the streets, but the vault saved the greater part of the church.

This is one of the most magnificent of the many fine churches of France; the character is not so heavy as that of Chartres, but the style is very similar. The end of the south transept is part of the original work; it has three lancet windows, moulded, and with shafts in the jambs; over these are three small round windows foliated, and in the gable a rose-window of plate-tracery of early character. The large rose-windows at the end of the north transept and at the west end are Flamboyant work, inserted in the repairs after the fire. The greater part of the building is, however, of the richest and finest Early French character.

Amiens Cathedral was founded in 1220, and the canons entered the choir in 1244; there is the date of 1248 in the painted glass of one of the windows of the apse. These windows have foliated circles of bar-tracery very similar to those of the chapter-house of Salisbury and other English examples of about ten

[u] The work was probably interrupted by the violent quarrels between the Archbishop and the citizens of Rheims: one of the charges against the citizens mentioned in the excommunication by Pope Gregory IX., in 1235, is that of using for their fortifications tombstones, and *stones prepared for the fabric of the great church*. *Gall. Christ.*, vol. i. p. 525.

years later. The tomb of Bishop De Coucy, who died in 1257, is placed under an arched recess in the wall of the north aisle of the choir, and seems part of the original work. The side-chapels with their windows are subsequent insertions, and the three large rose-windows are all of the fifteenth century. The great height and beautiful proportions of the interior of this church make it one of the most striking and effective in Europe. The western doorways and porches are quite a museum of the finest sculpture of the thirteenth century; but the upper part of them appears to have been tampered with, as the arms of Canon Dumas, about 1510, occur in the point of the gable of the great porch.

The cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris belongs partly to this period. The choir has been already mentioned as transitional work; it was built by Bishop Maurice de Sully, who died in 1196; but the nave and transepts are later, and about the same age as the west front, which was commenced in 1218, and finished in 1235. The character of all this part is good Early French, and the circular window of the west front has plate-tracery only. The side-chapels were added between 1240 and 1250; the windows of these have foliated circles of bar-tracery: at the same time all the windows of the clerestory of the nave and choir were enlarged, probably in order to introduce the new fashion of mullions and bar-tracery. The north and south porches are a little later: there is an inscription on the base of the south doorway recording its commencement in 1257. Some of the chapels round the choir are of this period, others of the early part of the fourteenth century. The stone screen round the choir, with its beautiful sculptures, was finished in 1351, as recorded by another inscription [x].

The chapel of the Seminary of Bayeux, built between 1206 and 1231, by Bishop Robert des Ableges, is so entirely in the English style, and so unlike other French buildings of the same

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[x] We are indebted to M Viollet-le-Duc, the architect of the church of Notre Dame, and one of the best-informed antiquaries of France, for this valuable information respecting the precise dates of the different parts of the building. [Since this note was published, he has completed his great work the *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, in ten volumes, octavo, (Paris, 1868,) which has placed him in the foremost rank among the architectural antiquaries of his time.]

period, that it would appear to have been certainly built by an English architect. The windows are all lancet-shaped and moulded, and the ribs are also moulded in the English fashion. It is a remarkably elegant little building, but more like a part of Salisbury than of Rheims or Chartres. The east end is square, but in the interior the vaulting is so arranged as to give very much the effect of a double apse.

The choir of the church of St. Peter at Lisieux, in Normandy, built between 1226 and 1267, is a remarkably good and pure specimen of the transition and of the Early French style. The pillars are of the usual massive character, with the Corinthianized capitals, very similar to Sens and Canterbury. The triforium is panelled, and some of the panels have trefoils and quatrefoils pierced through them; the shafts have capitals of stiff-leaf foliage; the clerestory windows are lancets, recessed, with shafts and moulded, but very flat and square in section. The aisle windows are couplets of two lancet lights, with a panel in the head, and a foliated circle with a boss in the centre, but not pierced. There is a fine Early French central lantern open to the church. The apse is a little later than the rest of the work, and the Lady-chapel is an addition of the fourteenth century, and fine Decorated work.

M. Vitet in his *Monographie de Notre Dame de Noyon*, folio, 1845, and M. Viollet-le-Duc, following him, consider it probable that the cathedral of Noyon was commenced about 1150, by Bishop Baldwin of Boulogne, the friend of Suger. He is recorded to have collected money for the rebuilding, but the work was evidently carrying on under Bishop Stephen of Nemours (1188—1222), as appears from incidental notices collected in the *Gallia Christiana*[y]. But the style, though still transitional, is considerably in advance of S. Denis, and in the absence of any positive evidence as to the date, it seems more probable that the Early French part is twenty or thirty years later.

The cathedral of Laon is considered by M. Viollet-le-Duc to be of the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the reasons he gives for assigning it to this date appear conclusive. The style is early Gothic, but very heavy, and with considerable remains of the transitional character; the east end is square,

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[y] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. iii. p. 818.

which is very unusual in France, though common in England at that period. The bishops of Laon had considerable intercourse with England, which seems naturally to account for the adoption of this English plan, but the French architects do not allow this.

Rodulphus de Warnavilla, or Venneville, who was Bishop of Laon from 1182 to 1193, had previously been Archdeacon and Treasurer of Rouen, Treasurer of York, and Chancellor of England. The rebuilding of the cathedral must have been carried on in his time, because it is stated in the epitaph of his predecessor Arnulf, that he was buried in the old church and translated to the new one[1]. He had begun the new cathedral and palace, but retired from the episcopate in 1182 to the abbey of S. Victor, near Paris, where he also erected fine buildings; that abbey has been entirely destroyed, but we may judge what its buildings were from those of Noyon. Warnavilla was probably more engaged in his buildings than in politics, as Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," says that little is known of his proceedings as Chancellor in England.

Many of the country churches round Laon have also square east ends, after the English fashion; they are chiefly imitated from the cathedral church, though some of them would appear earlier. They are a very interesting set of churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several of which are well worthy of careful examination. An English traveller in France may, with advantage, spend a week at Laon, and make excursions in the neighbourhood; a few may be specially mentioned:—

Bruyères sous Laon is a fine church of transitional character, *c.* 1200, cruciform in plan, with aisles to the nave, and chapels on each side of the choir. The exterior is unusually rich with carved capitals and cornices; the interior is more plain, but very good; the arches are pointed, square-edged, the windows round-headed, the vaults of the choir and apse are original, with the clerestory, that of the nave is Flamboyant work of the seventeenth century. The tower is over the chapel on the north side of the choir, the west front is quite plain Romanesque, with a remarkable porch, partly of wood, with stone

[1] *Gallia Christiana*, vol. ii. p. 649.

pillars at the angles. The doorways have richly-carved Early French capitals, and good iron-work on the door.

Vorges is another remarkable church of this period; the west front has a fine rose-window, the doorway is richly moulded and has shafts. The church has been fortified, and there are remains of these fortifications in the transept; the east end is square, with plain transitional work with three windows. The aisles are wide, with flat ceilings, and arches across to carry them. There is a very bold transitional moulding under the window, used as a string-course.

Nouvion-le-vieux is another remarkable church of the same style, late Romanesque, is transitional and cruciform in plan, with a tower on the south side, richly ornamented.

The Sainte Chapelle at Paris, built between 1245 and 1257, from the design and under the direction of Pierre de Montereau, is one of the most beautiful pieces of work of its time, and is considered by some of the best French antiquaries to be in advance of most other buildings in France of the same period. The windows have foliated circles in the head very similar to the chapter-house at Salisbury. The very rich character of the building causes it to be frequently considered as belonging to the Decorated style, but the character of the foliage and the mouldings shew it to belong to the Early French style, although the later division of it, as shewn by the use of tracery: this kind of tracery in England does not belong to the Decorated style, it is contemporary with lancet windows and regular Early English mouldings; although it shews a building to be late in the style, and approaching to the Decorated. This is the same in France as in England, excepting that such tracery is there used a few years earlier than it is in England.

The very beautiful Lady-chapel of S. Germer in Picardy, near Beauvais, is evidently a copy of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, at least of the upper chapel, for there is no second chapel under the principal one, as in Paris. This chapel has lately been very carefully restored, and those persons who object to the colouring of the Sainte Chapelle as tawdry, may prefer this, where the beautiful sculpture is free from colour. There is no doubt that all these buildings were intended to be coloured originally, as it was the fashion of the age when they were built; but whether they look better without the colouring or

not, is a matter of taste which it is useless to dispute about. The church to which this chapel is attached is itself a very fine one, in the style of transition, apparently of the latter part of the twelfth century; but its date has not been ascertained, and it has been ignorantly and absurdly given to the eleventh, probably only from the usual blunder of naming the centuries by the figures.

The common opinion is, that because at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, many Norman priests and monks became bishops in England, the same system was continued through the latter half of the twelfth century; on the contrary, there appears to have been a reaction, and almost as many Englishmen became bishops in France at that time as there had been Normans and Frenchmen made bishops in England during the previous century. Several instances of this have already been mentioned, such as the Bishop of Laon, who had been Chancellor of England before he was made a bishop, and who appears to have had a marked influence on the architecture of his diocese during that important period of transition.

The number of Englishmen who were educated in the Academy of Paris at that period, also shews the close connection between the two countries, and that the national jealousy was of later growth, a natural consequence of the wars of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, which partook very much of the character of civil wars, for the combatants had been in a large degree inhabitants of different provinces of the same kingdom[a].

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[a] The following names of Englishmen of distinction educated in the Academy of Paris at that time is curious and interesting:—

Gilbert Foliot, who became Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury from 1161—1189.

Robert de Corham, Abbot of St. Alban's, 1151—1166, who rebuilt the chapter-house, and part of the cloister with the lavatory.

Simon, first Prior and then Abbot of St. Alban's, 1173—1188.

Walter Ridal, or Rydall, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Ely, 1174—1189, (who rebuilt his cathedral).

THE DECORATED STYLE IN FRANCE does not differ so materially from the same style in England as to require a separate description. There are comparatively few large buildings of this style in France; it appears that the greater part of their cathedrals were rebuilt in the thirteenth century, or at least the rebuilding was commenced in the early part of that century, and continued rigorously in imitation of the same style throughout the fourteenth. In many instances, where the cathedral itself is of earlier date, the chapels between the buttresses with their large windows of the Decorated style (**178**), were introduced in the fourteenth century, or the latter part of the thirteenth. It is worthy of notice that the ball-flower ornament, which is almost as characteristic of the Decorated style in England as the tooth-ornament is of the Early English, is also rarely found in France, and then not in Decorated work, but in transitional work of the end of the twelfth century, and this more especially in Anjou and Poitou.

There is not the same variety of patterns in the tracery of the windows in France that there is in England, where they are endless; in France trefoils

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Ratrodus de Beaumont-le-Roger and of Warwick, brother to the Count or Earl of Warwick, Archbishop of Rouen, 1164—1183.

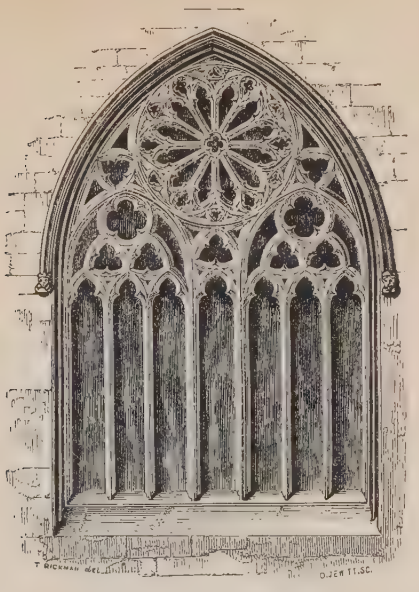
Walter Constance, successively Archdeacon of Oxford, Treasurer of Lincoln, and Archbishop of Rouen, 1184—1208.

Stephen Langton, Chancellor of the University of Paris before 1206, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 1207—1229, who rebuilt the Archbishop's palace, and was one of the most learned men of his time. He was the first to divide the Bible into chapters, as now received.—*Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, etc.*, A. C. E. Bulaeo, tom. ii. Paris, 1665, folio, p. 299; and tom. iii. pp. 42, 43.

Paris—La Sainte Chapelle.

Built by Pierre de Montereau, A.D. 1245—1257, in the Royal Palace, now the Law Courts or Palais de Justice.

or quatrefoils are almost universal, until the flowing lines of the Flamboyant style were introduced.

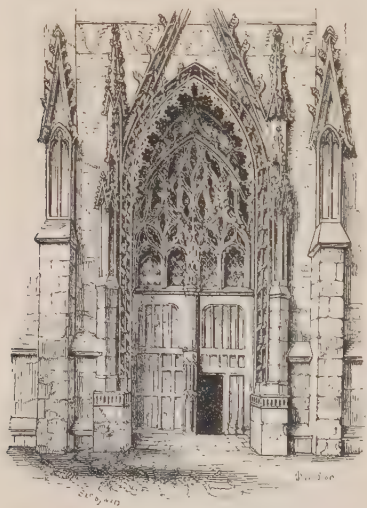


178. Bayeux Cathedral, c. 1300.
A French Decorated window.

The Decorated style in France appears to have been changed into the Flamboyant much more rapidly than in England it gave way to the Perpendicular. Examples of pure Decorated tracery, either geometrical or flowing, distinct alike from the foliated circles and trefoils of the Early English and Early French, and from the vagaries of the Flamboyant, seem to be comparatively rare in France.

The Flamboyant Style is essentially different from any of the English styles, and although obviously contemporaneous with the Perpendicular, has very few features in common with it.

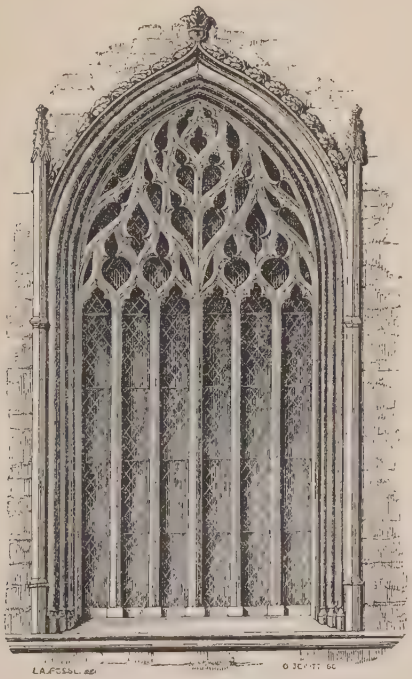
The varieties of Flamboyant work found in different countries, and different provinces, are almost endless, and would require a volume to describe them all. The Flamboyant of France is very different from that of Spain or of Belgium, of Holland or of Germany, and no two of these are alike.



179. Harfleur, Normandy, c. 1500.
A French Flamboyant porch.

The Flamboyant of Bretagne is quite different from that of other provinces of France. The tracery of the

windows is frequently formed in such a manner as to introduce a large fleur-de-lis conspicuously in the head of the window; in other instances the outline of a heart is similarly introduced, and sometimes the heraldic device of the family who built the church is formed in the tracery.



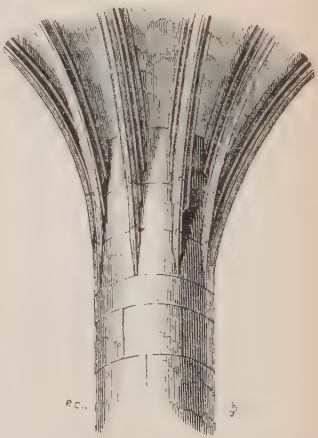
180. S. Saveur, Dinan, c. 1500.
A French Flamboyant window.

The windows are of course the chief marks of the style, and are readily distinguished by the waving,

flame-like character of the tracery (**180**). The clerestory windows of this style are generally large and important; and the back of the triforium being commonly glazed also, makes that appear a continuation of the clerestory windows.

The Doorways of this style are generally very rich; the actual doors have usually flat heads, with an enriched arch, or canopy, or shallow porch over them; and the space which in the earlier styles forms the tympanum, and is filled with sculpture, is usually occupied by a window in Flamboyant work, as at Harfleur, Normandy (**179**).

Mr. Rickman observes, in describing this style, that "Its essence seems to be elaborate and minute ornament, and this continues until the forms and combinations are sadly debased, and a strange mixture of Italianism jumbled with it."



181. St. Lo, Normandy, c. 1450.

Shewing the arch-mouldings dying into the round pillar without any capital or impost.

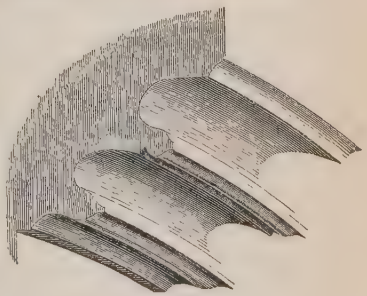
The arches of this style vary exceedingly in form; those over doors and windows are commonly nearly flat, with the ends only curved, and no point in the centre as at Harfleur.

The mouldings of the pier-arches commonly die into the pillars without any capitals, as at St. Lo, Normandy (**181**).

The crockets are a conspicuous feature, being large, and distant from each other, when compared with English examples. The effect of them is striking, and generally very good.

The entire absence of battlements in French buildings, whether as parapets or merely for ornament, as is so common in the English Perpendicular style, is very remarkable[b].

The mouldings of this style are a sort of caricature of the earlier styles, generally shallow and feeble, but often much exaggerated (**182**).



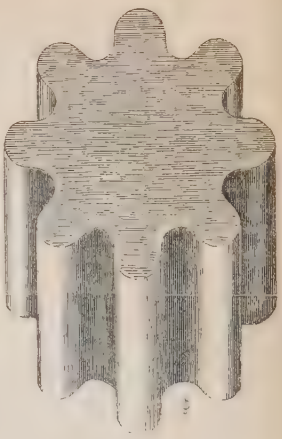
182. Villequier, Normandy. c. 1500. Flamboyant mouldings.

The pillars are sometimes fluted, more often plain rounds, with the arch-mouldings dying into them without any capitals, as at St. Lo (**181**); the bases are stilted, and a good deal like the Perpendicular bases. Another pillar which is very characteristic of this style con-

[b] The only examples in France of the use of battlements as an ornament, are believed to be at Dieppe, where the style is more English than French; and at Calais, where there is a small piece of it also on a building of English character; the absence of the four-centred arch, or Tudor arch, is also remarkable.

sists of a series of rounds and hollows, in a sort of undulating line, without any fillets or other marked division, as at Abbeville (**183**).

Rich open parapets and gallery fronts are a striking feature of this style. The panelling and ironwork are also very rich and characteristic.



183. Abbeville, c. 1450.
Section of a Flamboyant pillar.

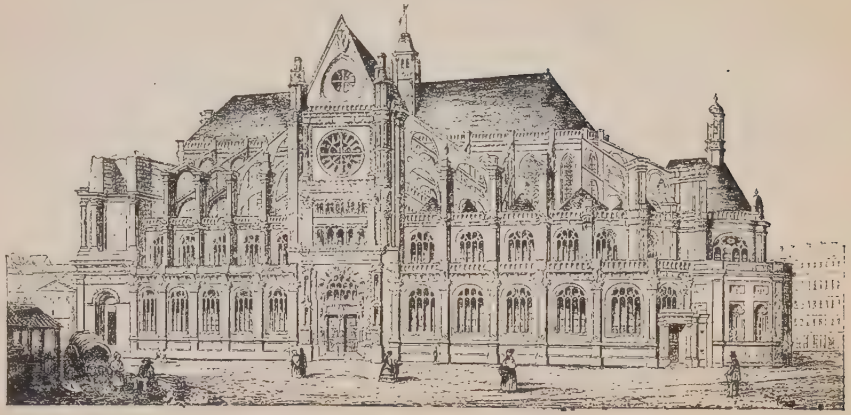
The Flamboyant style continued in use throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and part of the seventeenth, though getting gradually more and more mixed with the revived Classical details. The singular mixture of styles known by the name of the Renaissance often presents very picturesque combinations and striking effects; it is generally superior to the Elizabethan and Jacobean styles, which correspond to it in England.

184. S. Gervaise, Falaise.
Open parapet.

It is remarkable that we have no satisfactory work on foreign Gothic architecture as compared with English at the same periods. So long ago as 1817 Mr. Rickman observed,

THE LATE FLAMBOYANT AND RENAISSANCE STYLE.

Paris – S. Eustache.



Built by David, A.D. 1532—1552, under Jean de la Basse.

"That in every instance which had come under my notice of buildings on the Continent, a mixture more or less exact or remote, according to circumstances, of Italian composition in some part or other, is present; and that I had little doubt that a very attentive examination of the continental buildings called Gothic would enable an architect to lay down the regulations of the French, Flemish, German, and Italian styles, which were in use when the English flourished in England." Subsequently, in 1832, on his return from a tour in France, in which he was accompanied by Dr. Whewell, he says, "It is with great pleasure I find myself enabled by this journey to *go some way* towards this conclusion, with respect to *that part of France* at least which was included in this tour." But this included only a part of Picardy and of Normandy. Dr. Whewell has also favoured us with his valuable observations made on the same tour, but confined to the same limits.

Professor Willis, in his very instructive work on the Gothic churches of Italy, has also included a part of France. But unfortunately, neither of these learned writers and accurate observers has taken much pains to examine and authenticate the dates of the buildings they describe. Mr. Gally Knight's interesting Tour in Normandy supplies this deficiency to a great extent, so far as regards the principal buildings of Normandy, but leaves the other provinces of France untouched. The Society of Antiquaries of London have done me the honour to print, in the *Archæologia*, vols. xxxv., xxxvi., xxxvii., some architectural tours of mine in the western or English provinces of France, which afford some information on the architectural peculiarities of those provinces[c], from which it seems most probable that our English Gothic was chiefly derived. But much still remains to be done before the English reader can form any correct ideas on the subject.

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[c] Further information respecting that province can be obtained from the valuable work, entitled, *La Guienne Militaire pendant la Domination Anglaise*, par M. F. S. G. Drouyn, 1868, 4to. This work was originally published under the title of *La Guienne Anglaise*, but the Prefect objected to that name, and insisted on its being altered.

Italy—Rome.

In Italy, the architecture of the different provinces differs quite as much as in France. The Gothic style was always an exotic, and never became naturalized; but the attempts of some of the great Italian architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to combine the Gothic style with the Dome, or central large Cupola, produced very magnificent results, as at Florence and Siena, and are worthy of most careful study and consideration. There appears to be no reason why this combination should not be carried out with great advantage; the Dome has no necessary or natural connection with the Classical styles[d].

It has been shewn by the French Archæological Society, of which M. De Caumont was so long the leader, that the provincial character of the different provinces of ancient Gaul can each be traced to some Roman building, which had served as a type for that province when building in stone was revived. That Society was established in 1830, and has always made annual excursions to different parts of France, in the same manner as the Archæological Institute has done in England. The members of that Society have, therefore, had every opportunity of verifying this fact, and recording examples in their *Bulletin Monumental*, and it may fairly be considered as established.

Rome, in the Middle Ages, was the capital of Western Christendom; the bishops of the most distant dioceses had to go to Rome for their palls, and each was accompanied by chaplains. Either the Bishop himself, or his chaplain, was very likely to be an architect, and in the early period Rome was looked to for models. Some of the earliest buildings in England, after the departure of the Romans, are expressly stated to have been built "in the Roman manner." Some think that this only meant in stone and not wood; but in any case Rome

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[d] There is a good example of a Gothic dome at Valognes, in the Cotentin, in Normandy: although it is of late date, and the details are bad, the general effect is very good.

was looked to for the type, and there is no doubt that the Gothic style, much as it afterwards differed from the Roman type, was in fact gradually developed from it. A more full account of the architecture of Rome than of any other place seems, therefore, to be called for in this Introduction, and as the architecture of Rome is much more clearly understood by beginning with the earliest buildings, the few pages that are necessary to explain those before the Christian era can hardly be considered as out of place.

In Rome, so long the capital of the civilized world, we have buildings of all periods, from the Etruscan walls of the time of the Kings of Rome, some centuries before the Christian era, to our own day. The early walls are of natural construction, consisting of large oblong masses of tufa or peperino from the neighbouring cliffs, merely split off and hammer-dressed, and put together without mortar or cement of any kind. Some of these were originally placed against a bank of earth or *agger*, which supported them, whilst the walls kept up the bank of earth, and made a strong fortification. Others were built against the face of the cliffs of the low hills on which the city of Rome was built. These ancient walls, usually called in Rome "the Walls of the Kings," are commonly fifty feet high and twelve feet thick; their large stones

185. Wall of Roma Quadrata[e].

[e] This portion is built against the scarped cliff of the Palatine Hill, at the north-west corner; it has brick walls of the time of the Early Empire built upon it and against it, and is repaired with brick.

are each a ton weight, and they are placed alternately lengthwise and crosswise, like modern bricks in London. One object of the walls thus placed was to keep up the loose earth in a vertical position; this is the case also in the Etruscan cities. This mode of building may be called natural, as it depends entirely on the nature of the stone employed and the manner in which it splits naturally. In other instances of natural construction of the same period, when the material is different, such as the hard mountain-limestone, the stones are small and of various shapes, ingeniously fitted together without mortar, as in the natural cliffs or quarries. Buildings of natural construction are of all periods: the natives of the same districts continue to build in the same manner at the present time, and have always done so; it is the cheapest mode of building where these materials are found. The Etruscans and the primitive Romans lived in wooden houses; a house cannot well be built of stone or brick without mortar, which had not then been brought into use. Some of the tombs of the Etruscans bear decisive evidence to the same fact; although cut out of the solid rock, they are cut in imitation of wooden beams and posts, as at Veii. The same observations, as to natural construction and the absence of cement or mortar, are said to apply to Egypt, to Greece, and to the East generally.

186. Wall of the Latins on the Aventine, with Arch inserted.

We do not find either sawn stone or lime-mortar until a later period. In the later Etruscan work, the stone appears to have been sawn before the use of lime-mortar or cement, and these stones are fitted together in the most admirable manner.

The remains of the second Wall of Rome, which enclosed the two hills in ONE CITY, (that is, the Palatine and the Hill of Saturn, afterwards called the Capitoline Hill,) are of the

same construction, of large blocks of tufa cut with the saw. A part of this was used for the eastern boundary of the Forum of Augustus, and was much altered in the time of that Emperor. A wall of travertine, of one-third its height and thickness, *is inserted into it* at a right angle at the south end. There are remains of another part of this second wall of Rome on the bank of the Tiber, called the Pulchrum Littus, in which an opening is left for the mouth of one branch of the small river Almo, now used for the Marrana, or mill-stream. Another opening has been made in this wall a little higher up the stream, for the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, with a triple arch of the Gabii stone, (called *Sperone*,) inserted in the old wall of tufa. There are remains of this second wall of Rome also on the western side of the Palatine Hill, at a low level, quite distinct from the wall of Roma Quadrata on the summit, and of a different and later construction. Part of it is in a garden behind the houses of the Via dei Cerchi, and another part, with two towers, under the church of S. Anastasia; the towers are at one of the angles, so much used by the Romans in their fortifications, and from this point the wall went across to the Tiber, with the Pulchrum Littus on the bank of it.

The earliest example in Rome of the use of stone cut with the saw, is in the great public building originally called the Capitolium, and now called the *Muncipio*, which contains the Tabularium, where the original construction is visible at the west end. The date of this is probably second only to the walls of Roma Quadrata on the Palatine, in which the stones are not cut with the saw, and have very wide vertical joints.

The Cloaca Maxima is recorded to have been made by King Ancus Martius, who also made the great prison of the Kings, called the Mamertine Prison, part of which is of the same construction as the second wall.

The third Wall of Rome is that of Servius Tullius, who enclosed the seven hills in one city by connecting the old separate fortifications into one whole. In his wall the stones are of the same size as before, and are closely fitted together; the construction of his time is distinguished from the preceding walls by the use of iron clamps to bind the stones together; on the surface the iron has rusted, split the stones, and fallen out, leaving only the holes at the edges of the stones; but in pulling

down part of the wall in 1871, (to enlarge the railway-station,) a number of the old iron clamps were found in the middle of the wall, where they could not fall out. This custom of using iron clamps to bind the stones together continued for many centuries in Rome, and the holes remain in many places. In the wall of the Colosseum these had long been a puzzle, and are now explained.

The fourth and last Wall of Rome is that of Aurelian, which is for the most part faced with the brickwork of the third century, where the original work remains.

The first use of lime-mortar is a very doubtful question, and in early massive walls it is often difficult to distinguish whether there is lime-mortar or not; clay was sometimes used as cement, and the filtration of water through the tufa often gives the appearance of lime-mortar, when there is not really any. There is certainly none in the walls of Roma Quadrata, on the Palatine, of the first period. In the second period, the fine jointing makes it difficult to see whether there is mortar or not, but it would hardly be required.

Herodotus mentions *slime* as used before mortar, though concrete walls may have been of any period after lime-mortar was once introduced, and they generally form the mass of all Roman walls. What Vitruvius calls construction means the *visible* construction, the surface of the wall only, and most writers on architecture follow him in this respect; but massive concrete walls are what really supported the vaults and the roofs, before buttresses were introduced, and these walls are often built hollow, to prevent the moisture from passing through them. At first the small wedge-shaped pieces of tufa that were used to make a smooth surface to the rough concrete walls were placed in an irregular manner, called by Vitruvius *Opus incertum;* but they were soon cut into the diamond shape, and arranged regularly, like the meshes of a net, and hence are called "reticulated work," or "net-work," *Opus reticulatum.* The earliest examples of the use of lime-mortar in Rome, are commonly said to be of the time of Sylla or Sulla the dictator, (*c.* 80 B.C.,) in the Emporium, the house of Sallust, and the Muro Torto. When lime-mortar was first used it was employed rather in profusion, as in the Emporium. The joints were too wide, and were much reduced when brick was introduced. Walls were some-

times built of concrete in layers, as in the walls of the foundation of a fort on the Aventine, near the Porta S. Paolo, or Ostiense.

The brickwork of the Empire, especially of the first century of the Christian era, is the finest brickwork in the world. The bricks are thin and flat, of the shape which we call tiles: and those intended for facing only are triangular, the angle being built in with the concrete wall while it was wet, before it had set, as was the case with the small tufa blocks before mentioned as forming the smooth surface called *Opus reticulatum;* consequently it all became a solid mass, and as firm a wall as could be built. The arches are formed of the thin bricks also, but these are square, placed edgeways, and square pillars are often built of these square tiles also.

As the Etruscans and the early Romans lived in wooden houses, stone being only used for the fortifications, their temples were also usually of wood: the earliest introduction of marble in Rome was of the time of Sylla, and travertine or the stone from Tivoli was not used before that time.

Careful observation has shewn that, during the most important building age, the first three centuries of the Christian era, and of the Roman empire, the age of a brick wall can be ascertained by measurement, and by counting the number of bricks or tiles to a foot, mortar included. The best period is the time of Nero, or the middle of the first century; the bricks are then particularly well made, hard, and solid, and not more than one inch thick, so that in the arches and in the more important parts of the wall ten bricks to a foot can be counted. After that time the bricks become gradually thicker, and more spongy.

Brick walls of each of the first four centuries of the Christian era can be readily distinguished by the thickness of the bricks, and of the mortar between them, and by the quality of the bricks themselves; the earliest being the hardest and the thinnest. The rule laid down from long and careful observation is as follows, (mortar included in each case):—

First century.—Nine or ten to the foot, and the best construction; very fine joints.

Second century.—Seven or eight to the foot, the construction nearly equally good.

Third century.—Six, with still very good construction.

Fourth century.—Four, with bad and clumsy construction; very wide joints.

These observations apply to Roman walls in the provinces, equally as in Rome itself. The greater part of the Roman walls in Britain are of the third or fourth century.

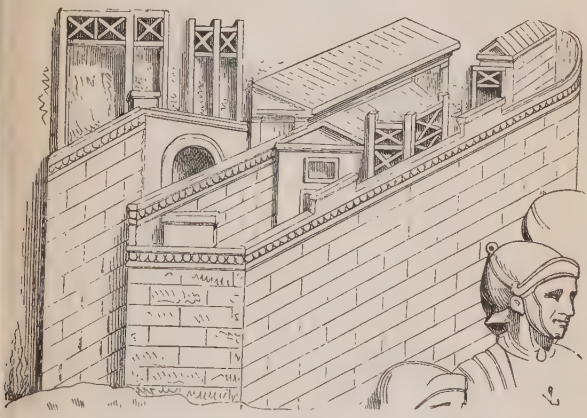
There are in Rome several curious examples of ancient Pagan temples made into Christian churches, as the Pantheon, now "S. Maria ad Martyris;" the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, now S. Lorenzo in Miranda; and of Romulus, the son of Maxentius, now SS. Cosmas and Damian. The three early temples of the time of the Republic, in the Forum Olitorium, or vegetable market, which stood close together, were made into one church, called S. Nicholas in Carcere. They were not rebuilt, but the old basements remain in the crypt, the columns in the walls, and the cornices on the roof.

Several other temples were made into churches; these and the ruins of the great basilicas or halls, are almost entirely of the time of the Emperors. These splendid ruins afterwards supplied abundant materials for the churches ready worked, especially marble columns, with their capitals and bases, and often their entablatures also, which were furnished by the ruins of the temples, baths, and palaces of pagan Rome; and these naturally had a great and an injurious influence on the architecture of Christian Rome. Necessity is the mother of invention, and when there is no necessity for it we seldom find it: the builders in Christian Rome had no occasion for it, they had only to make use of the materials ready to their hands, and copy the old mode of arranging them as well as they could.

The churches are usually built of concrete, faced with brick, from the time of Constantine downwards; and there are none before his time, except those made out of rooms in earlier houses. They are often of the poorest and meanest description; but the poverty and meanness of their construction is concealed and disguised by the spoils of the ancients and the rich decoration of the interior, especially the splendid mosaics. The Gothic principle of displaying the construction and making it ornamental was never adopted in Rome. The plain brick walls of the aisles had small, plain, round-headed, or sometimes

circular windows in them, and the brick wall of the clerestory was carried upon a row of antique marble columns: at first these had their horizontal entablatures of marble also; afterwards small brick arches, semicircular or segmental, were introduced from column to column to carry the wall above, but these were for a long period concealed behind either a real entablature or a sham one. The roofs are of wood, and in general plain and ugly, though sometimes concealed by very rich flat ceilings. This style of building continued until the almost entire destruction of Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The earliest Anglo-Saxon belfries have very much the appearance of being copied from wooden towers, and this is not



187. Wooden Tower on a stone wall, from Trajan's Column.

at all improbable. Wooden walls and wooden towers were commonly used in fortifications at all periods; they are representations of wooden towers on the sculptures of Trajan's Column, at Rome. The stone construction, called *long-and-short work*, is much more like the work of carpenters than of masons. People accustomed to the use of wood only would not at first know the proper manner of using stone.

Before the time of Constantine there was only one church *built as a church* in Rome, this was S. Maria in Trastevere, where a spring of *petroleum*, or mineral oil, had sprung up and ran for a few years, as we now find to be common in volcanic countries. This was attributed to a Christian miracle, and the popular feeling in favour of building a church on the spot, was too strong to be resisted by the Pagan authorities. But in Rome itself, (the Trastevere is like Southwark to London,) the primitive Christians were only allowed to assemble in the houses of the senators or nobles, or other wealthy Christians; and as their number increased rapidly, the largest room in the house, the Basilica or great hall, was naturally used for that purpose; and this became consecrated by usage, and, after the toleration of the Christians called "The Peace of the Church," was generally consecrated as a church by the Pope or Bishop. In times of persecution they retired to the underground chambers which were usual in the Roman palaces, for use in the summer. The only instance in which this old arrangement is preserved in the old walls is in the house of Pudens, the senator, where one end of the basilica, or great hall (with the large hall-windows walled up), remains, of the time of the Apostles; and the subterranean church, admirably contrived to avoid observation, is also preserved, although filled up with earth by the pontifical authorities in their ignorance. The upper church has been rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and the wall of the old hall is now separated from the church by one of the chambers of a nunnery; the high altar, with the wall behind it, on which the mosaic picture is placed, is about twenty feet within the old wall; but the altar of the side-aisle, rebuilt by Cardinal Wiseman, is against the old wall, not being in a line with the high altar, but far beyond it. The church of S. Silvester is in one of the chambers of the Thermæ of Titus. In the instance of S. Prisca, the original underground chambers of the house of Priscilla, the wife of Domitian, are suffered to remain in a neglected and ruinous state, and a medieval church has been built near them on a higher level. All the primitive churches were *in palaces*, and are always described in early writings by names to indicate this; St. John's *in the* Lateran (the original *Basilica Constantiniana* of the ecclesiastical writers), St. Peter's *in the* Vatican, S. Lorenzo *in* Lucina, S. Maria *in* Domnica, &c.

The recent excavations on the Palatine have brought to light the entire ground-plan of the great Basilica Jovis, or state-hall; and as these basilicas or law-courts became the usual type for the Christian churches of the fourth century, the old arrangement was followed, as it had been found convenient: it thus becomes important to see what that old arrangement was.

The Emperor sat on a throne in the centre of the apse, raised on three steps against or upon the wall, and the senators or nobles sat on raised seats round the apse. There were usually three marble benches, one above the other, against the wall, and the state-chair or throne in the centre. In the Basilica Jovis the seats have been destroyed; they were probably of wood only. Across the chord of the apse is a low screen of pierced marble, about three feet high, a portion of which remains *in situ*. Within this cancellus, or chancel-screen, but under the throne, was an altar for taking oaths upon. The position of the altar in a basilica was the opposite to a temple; in the basilica it stood at the bottom of a flight of steps *inside* the building, in the pagan temple it stood on the top of a flight of steps, and *outside* of the building. The emperor, as chief magistrate, sat on the throne, and entirely overlooked the altar and the people, excepting those in the galleries; and there were galleries on both sides, as is seen by the remains.

Afterwards, when this arrangement was copied in the churches, the bishop sat on the throne, and when he had to officiate in the Communion Service, he descended the steps of the throne, and stood behind the altar, *officiating over it*. The altar was placed either at the west end, or no regard was paid at all to the orientation. Several of the churches of Rome stand north and south, but the altar at the west end was the more usual plan. The bishop preached from the steps of the throne behind and above the altar; this is recorded of S. Chrysostom and of S. Gregory, and of the latter, one of the thrones from which he preached is preserved behind the altar, in its original place in the apse of SS. Nereo and Achilleo[f]. The same old plan remains in the crypt of S. Alexius, on the Aventine, of the eighth century. In S. Clement's the lower church

[f] The sermon that he preached from this spot was afterwards engraved upon the back of the marble seat or throne on which he sat.

is of the eighth century, but the upper church, with the raised choir, is of the twelfth, and this is the earliest example of a raised choir.

The application of the name of Basilica to the small burial-chapels in the Catacombs is a mistake; not one of them will hold more than sixty people, few so many. They were intended for the funeral services and commemorative services, and for pilgrimages only, not for public worship in the English sense of the words. In all the primitive churches the altar was at the west end, it was always low, often a stone coffin only. The priest stood behind it and officiated *over it*, facing the people, but himself turning towards the east and looking towards the rising sun, as the well-known emblem of the resurrection. These primitive altars are preserved in a few instances, but their use is now restricted to the Pope alone, a manifest abuse. Originally every Christian minister was called a *Papa*, and this abuse, like many others in Rome, has probably arisen more from ignorance than design.

The art of building had begun to decline in Rome as early as the time of Constantine: most of the buildings of the fourth century are made up of fragments of earlier structures. Constantine himself was very little in Rome, and built nothing there. His triumphal Arch is made up of fragments. He did not build a single church in Rome; he allowed and perhaps induced the Pope to consecrate the basilica or great hall in the palaces previously used as places of assembly, and he endowed handsomely the cathedral chapters which he attached to them. In one instance, that of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, originally the prætorium or hall of justice of the Sessorian Palace, the residence of his mother S. Helena, there is an apse of his time added at one end of the prætorium or oblong hall, of the second century. In all the other great establishments founded in his time after "The Peace of the Church," the halls or basilicas were not rebuilt as churches until afterwards. During the few months that he was in Rome there would have been no time to do it, and S. Croce is the only one that has any work of that period.

From the fourth century to the tenth the art of building, along with all the other fine arts, steadily declined. A great effort was made to revive the art in the time of Paschal I. and

Charlemagne, but it did not last. There are several churches in Rome of that period which are a good imitation of the ancient basilicas, such as S. Prassede, S. Maria *in Domnica* (in the house of the lady), and others. Nearly all the churches in Rome were repaired, restored, or rebuilt at that period, after they had been damaged in the siege by the Lombards in the seventh century. The construction is a good imitation of that of the fourth century, faced with brick, the interior plastered and ornamented either with fresco-painting or mosaics. They are in general richly ornamented with mosaic pictures on the apse or tribune, and the arch to it over the altar, called 'the arch of triumph.' At S. Prassede the subject of the mosaic being the court of heaven, required more space, and is carried on to a second arch also. This is the richest church for the effect of mosaics in Rome, but as works of art they are of a very inferior description, a rude imitation of the early mosaics. In the tenth century art of all kind had died out. The only building of this period in Rome, part of the monastery added to S. Croce, now the sacristy behind the apse, is one of those exceptions which prove the rule, for the art of building could not well have been reduced to a lower ebb than is shewn in that building. The great revival of art, the true Renaissance of Christian art, which began in the west of Europe early in the eleventh century, did not reach Rome until the end of it, and Christian art in Rome has always been a century behind the rest of Europe ever since.

The time of Paschal II., A.D. 1100—1120, was almost as great a building era as that of Paschal I. The damage done by the Normans under Guiscard in their raid at the end of the eleventh century (when they burnt the roofs of the churches, and the wooden houses in a considerable part of Rome), was repaired in the beginning of the twelfth. The present church of S. Clement above ground belongs to that period, with the exception of part of the walls of the fourth century, which have been preserved; and the lower part, now the subterranean church, belongs to earlier periods, with paintings for decoration at various times, but chiefly of the eleventh century[5], just

[5] They are the donation of Bena de Rapizia and his family, whose portraits as donors are painted under them, with their names. He was living in 1080, and his signature to a charter of that date is extant.

before the raid of the Normans, who damaged this church so much that when it was rebuilt it was found expedient to abandon the lower church altogether. Probably at this period the level of the road was altered; the original road or street was at the bottom of the *fossa* or trench of the old fortification;

188. S. Clement.

The south aisle of the lower church, as first excavated by Father Mullooly.

the entrance to the quadri-porticus, or cloister of the monastery and church, is at a lower level than the present road, but not so low as the original level, which was fifteen to twenty feet below the surface. The great width of the nave of the early church of S. Clement, as in several other instances, was found inconvenient when large timber had become so much more expensive, and this was reduced by dividing the width of the original nave into a nave and aisle by introducing an arcade in the upper church. The outer aisle of the original church (now subterranean) was abandoned, the intervals between the columns on that side walled up with brick to support the outer

wall of the church above, and square brick piers introduced to support the columns of the arcade above, thus making the new nave about two-thirds of the width of the old one. The present upper church was long considered one of the oldest churches in Rome, but the excavations made by the side of it in 1859 brought to light the original columns, standing in their places, about fifteen feet below the level of the floor of the present church. It is true that the columns of the present church are antique, which led to the idea that the church was the original one, but the original columns, now buried, are also taken from some ancient temple; and, as we have observed, the supply of these columns was inexhaustible. The apse is also ornamented with mosaics, which were long supposed to be of the fifth or sixth century, but are really of the twelfth and thirteenth. At a still lower level, about ten or twelve feet below the foundations of the old church, are the walls of a building of ancient Rome on the site of which the church was built.

The city walls of Rome were much repaired also in the twelfth century, as recorded on inscriptions, and in other ways, and there are evident patches inserted in the old walls and of very inferior construction. Many of the old churches were also rebuilt at the same period, either altogether or in part, on the old sites, and on the same plan as before.

It is probable that window-tracery, like many other things, was introduced into Western Europe from Rome. There are several windows of the time of the Early Empire remaining at Rome, which are patterns cut out of a plate of marble, and not intended to be glazed; they are exactly the same as the panels of a low screen, and seem to have been used indifferently for either purpose. Some of these windows are still in their original places, as in the subterranean church of S. Silvester, made, as has been said, in one of the chambers of the Thermæ of Trajan, adjoining to those of Titus; others are lying about or placed against the wall in the same church. There are others in the wall under the cloister of S. Croce, but as that cloister is of the tenth century, these have been taken out of their original places and used again. There is another in the palace of the Cæsars in part of the lower gallery of the Circus Maximus. Another has been replaced by Signor Rosa in the screen of the great Basilica of the Palace of the Cæsars. In the remains of that Basilica or law-court, the old arrange-

ment can be seen, and it is identical with that of a church of the basilican type, although this hall was never made into a church.

Another kind of tracery which comes more near to the Gothic type occurs in the church of S. Prassede, of the time of Paschal I. and Charlemagne. It is in the chapel of S. Agnes, over which the campanile has been built two or three centuries afterwards, and the old chapel with its curious windows and its fresco-paintings left in a great degree undisturbed. This window-tracery is intended to be used with glass, and is made of stucco, with the patterns cut out, and grooves for the glass, some of which remains in it. The forms of this tracery approach very near to Gothic, but are not the same. Another kind of early tracery occurs in the windows of the clerestory of S. Lorenzo fuori le Muri, and is visible from the outside only, being concealed on the inside by modern plastering to make the whole interior harmonize better with the Pagan style of the modern *restoration*. This tracery consists of small circles only; there are a few other examples of it in Rome in work of the twelfth century or earlier. At Florence, and in some other towns in Italy, thin slabs of marble are used instead of glass, the object being more to keep out the glare of the sun than to admit light.

The numerous campaniles, or belfries, of Rome are among its most remarkable features, and they are nearly all so exactly alike that it is extremely difficult to distinguish the period at which each has been built. The origin of them is probably very early; there is a representation of a tower of this description on an ivory tablet at Monza, apparently of the fourth century, a cast of which was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt in 1860, and has since been published by the Arundel Society. None of those now existing are of so early a date; they are all of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and some still later. The Italians have no invention, but they are most admirable copyists, and the campaniles of the Roman type (which were originally of the Pisan style, as is shewn by the *paterœ*) prevail over a great part of Italy. These campaniles are sometimes detached buildings standing quite free from the church, but they are often connected with it by a low structure, or by part of the aisle, and are sometimes at the west end.

Of the three hundred churches in Rome only one is Gothic—that of the Minerva, and that is of the fifteenth century, and very bad Gothic of the Italian type, with none of the lightness and elegance of the northern styles. The church of S. Maria, or Ara-Cœli, is in reality a fine Gothic church of the fifteenth century, but has been so utterly spoiled by modern *restoration* that it is almost impossible to recognise the fact without careful study.

The ornamental Gothic details in Rome of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, such as canopies over altars and tombs, are perhaps unrivalled anywhere. They are chiefly the work of one family, the Cosmati, or family of Cosmas, of whom three generations have been traced by their inscriptions, coming originally from Anagni in the neighbourhood of Rome. They appear to have visited England and France, or to have had some connection with those countries. Their forms are always those of the English or French Gothic, of fifty years earlier, but enriched with bands or ribbons of their own beautiful everlasting mosaics. They thus combined the most beautiful architectural forms that the human hand has ever executed or perhaps the human mind ever conceived, with permanent ornament of a very elegant character. The originals from which they copied were no doubt painted in distemper colours, but they saw the fleeting nature of those colours, and wished to perpetuate them. We are also indebted to the same family for the greater part of the rich mosaic pavements of Rome called *Opus Alexandrinum*. The pavement of S. Maria Maggiore is recorded to have been laid down at the expense of Cardinal Gonsalvi, whose beautiful tomb in the same church is one of the best of this class, and there are other dated examples of the same period.

Some of the churches of the Renaissance in Rome, of the sixteenth century, have great merit, especially in the management of the cupola, or dome. The modern churches are the most hideous in Europe, overloaded with ornament of the most sumptuous but the most tawdry description, and in the worst possible taste. And the interiors of the old churches are spoiled in the same detestable manner.

Ravenna.

The buildings of Ravenna are of the highest interest, and may be said to form a connecting link between the Roman and the medieval styles, but they can hardly be said to have formed a provincial style. The basilicas are purely Roman, in a more perfect and more genuine state than those of Rome itself: their beautiful mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries are still perfect. The church of S. Vitale is one of the most remarkable in Europe, and probably furnished ideas for circular churches to many architects long afterwards, but no attempt was made to copy it in its own province. The style is called Byzantine, but it is rather too light for that style, and has more of the Roman character. The tomb of Theodoric had originally a small colonnade round the upper part of it, formed of twin shafts, the details of which are very like those afterwards used in the cloisters at Rome, Arles, &c. Many fragments of these shafts, with their capitals and bases, are lying about in the adjoining garden. The tomb of Gallia Placidia is externally a small, plain brick chapel, in the form of a Greek cross; internally, the walls and vaults, and the tomb itself, are covered with the richest mosaics.

The brickwork of Ravenna is quite peculiar, neither Roman nor medieval: many of the bricks, perhaps the greater part, are flat, like the Roman bricks or tiles, and of about the same proportions, separated by beds of mortar quite as thick as themselves; others are flat, but thicker in proportion than Roman bricks; others, again, are square, and others oblong, but much larger than modern bricks, and always separated by thick beds of mortar.

The earliest campaniles known are those at Ravenna, but these are of quite a different type from the Roman or any other; they are round, and built of brick, with numerous small windows, the lower ones a single light only, the upper ones in the belfry double. These were always without glass, and some had the bells suspended in them on pivots. The massive wooden framework for carrying bells was not introduced at that early period. These towers are of the sixth century: they are semi-detached, that is, each is connected with the church by a low building only, forming a passage or cloister

leading to the vestry. They are usually on the side of the choir, or near the altar end of the church. The only one that is perfect is that of S. Apollinare in Classe, and may have served also as a lighthouse for the port: there are several others more or less complete.

These round towers, or campaniles, of Ravenna seem to constitute a provincial type; they are almost universal in Ravenna itself and the immediate neighbourhood, and some of them are as early as the sixth century; but the type once fixed, it was copied with the same accuracy as the tall, square campaniles at Rome: the Ravenna type does not appear to have spread into other parts of Italy.

The church of S. Mary at Toscanella, of the date of 1206, has been already mentioned at p. 99, as a valuable example of the transitional style in Italy. In the very rich west front of this church, the tooth-ornament occurs rather abundantly, and another ornament closely resembling the ball-flower.

The churches of Assissi have been already mentioned, and the error respecting the tracery in the windows of the church of S. Francis has been pointed out at p. 143.

Florence.

The principal buildings of Florence are generally as well known to English people of the educated classes, as those of London, often indeed better; for few people take the trouble to study the Tower of London, the churches of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, or St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, or even the Temple Church, the Savoy Chapel, or Westminster Abbey, whereas all who go to Florence examine the buildings there, by way of passing the time away, in fine weather. A few words of comment upon them are therefore all that are requisite here, and these may be made useful with reference to the Italian styles generally.

The Duomo was founded in 1298, but only the foundations belong to the thirteenth century, and it was a very long period in construction; it may be called a building of the fourteenth century, but a great deal of it is really of the fifteenth and even the sixteenth. The names of the celebrated artists employed

upon it sufficiently indicate the dates of the different parts. Some of the details are by Lucca da Robbia.

Few buildings are better known by engravings or photographs than this magnificent *duomo* or cathedral, with its grand dome or cupola and transept, with their apsidal chapels and small subordinate cupolas. It is remarkable that the eastern chapel or apse is considerably smaller than those of the transeptal chapels. This probably arises from the necessity of the construction, those chapels being employed to conceal the enormous buttresses necessary to support the great central dome or cupola. The nave is in reality long and large, but the great height and width of the arches make it appear of quite a moderate length and size. This is considered as one of the merits of the Italian Gothic style, but it may well be doubted whether it is in fact an advantage.

To make a building appear much smaller than it really is, may be a proof of skill in the architect; but the English architects aimed at the opposite effect, to make it appear as large, and especially as long, as they could, and the large number of small narrow arches produces a wonderful effect of perspective, and gives an apparently endless length to many of the English cathedrals. This appears to me to give them a much finer effect to the eye, and to produce a more religious impression on the mind, than the opposite extreme. In some of the Italian churches, as in S. Maria Novella in Florence, the arches of the east end towards the altar are smaller and narrower than the others, the effect of which is still more to shorten the church to the eye. Perhaps one object of this is to fix the attention more exclusively on the high altar with its fine screen.

The west front of this magnificent pile of building is still left unfinished; but the campanile, by the side of it, shews what it would be, if completed. So much black-and-white panelling gives to English people too much of the effect of *Tunbridge-ware*, and gives the idea of a fine toy, rather than the solemnity of a cathedral church. There is also a great deal of what to us appears like caricature in the details. The tracery is all such as in England would be a century earlier. The campanile is said to have been commenced in 1334, but there is nothing visible of this period, nor even near to it; the

height, which is 270 ft., gives an idea of the enormous scale of this building.

The baptistery is more simple than the *duomo* on the exterior, and perhaps produces a better general effect for that reason. The bronze doors are celebrated all over the world, and are unrivalled, though some others approach near to them. They are another feature almost peculiar to Italy, though some of them are said to have been made at Constantinople at an earlier period. The interior of this fine building, with its vaults and walls covered with mosaic pictures, is perhaps the finest thing of the kind that we have any where. This remarkable edifice is said to be on the site of the original cathedral of the seventh century, but the rebuilding was commenced in 1293, and the design considerably altered in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The bronze doors were made by Ghiberti; one is dated 1421, another 1452, probably the first and the last. The elaborate altar-screen was commenced in 1366, but not finished until 1480.

Lombardy and the north of Italy are justly celebrated for the baptisteries, they are quite a peculiarity of this part of Europe. We have them elsewhere, but not to compare in magnificence with these; nearly all the principal cities of Lombardy have them, and all are well worth attention. Those of Pisa and of Parma are among the most celebrated, and the best known, but there are others equally fine.

There are some other fine churches in Florence, with cloisters, chapter-house, and other monastic buildings. The palaces and other public buildings are also very fine, and some of them as early as the thirteenth century. One of the finest of these palaces has been made into a public museum. The very tall towers are another striking feature of the buildings of Florence.

S. Maria Novella is a fine example of the Italian Gothic style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The west front is veneered with marble in panels, chiefly white with black borders; the upper part is dated by an inscription upon the cornice, 1470; the lower part is earlier, part of it is of the fourteenth century. The foundation of this church was laid in 1279, but the work went on very gradually and slowly, and it was not completed until that time. Probably the west front was left till the last (as seems to have been usual in Italy).

We have many instances of west fronts being still left unfinished. The present one was finished in the style of the fifteenth century in this part of Italy, which seems at first sight incredible to English people. The campanile is of the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth, and is a fine tall tower with panelling and windows with midwall shafts, a good deal like the Pisan style, but not strictly belonging to it, which is surmounted by a modern pyramidal spire. The nave is very plain, but grand in its proportions, consisting of six bays, four of which are forty feet square, with pilasters attached, tall in the nave, short in the aisle, with half-caps in each (as in England at Romsey, and at Christ Church, Oxford: this design is rare in England, and common in Italy). This church has belonged to a great monastery, with an extraordinary number of cloisters, several of which are preserved. The great one at the west end is made into an open square, that on the south side was rebuilt to widen the street leading from the railway station, one large and two small ones in the west side are preserved; the style is late and not good. The chapter-house, with the triple entrance to it, is good, and is of the fourteenth, with trefoil arches and tracery of foliated circles. The walls are painted in the style of Giotto, but after his time. The paintings contain some good representations of buildings, a fine church with a dome and tracery in the windows, and a palace with towers, having conical roofs. These paintings represent buildings then in a perfect state, since destroyed and mutilated. The church has no apse, but has five chapels on the east side of the transept; the central one is much larger than the others, and is in fact a lady-chapel, though separated from the transept by the marble screen of the altar only: it has a fine triple lancet-window, with coloured glass, and the walls are painted. There are other painted chapels at the ends of the transepts, but they are modern restorations; one is dated by an inscription, 1738, but this states it to be a restoration of the chapel of the fourteenth century. The great cloister is also dated by an inscription, 1650; the great monastery has been turned into public offices, and this appears to have been done in 1730, according to another inscription.

S. Croce is another remarkable church of a similar type to S. Maria Novella, but the west front is a modern imitation

of the old style in white marble with black stripes forming panels. It was erected in 1857, under Pius IX. The church was founded in 1295, and, as in other cases, the building went on for more than a century, and the west front was left unfinished. The plan is that of a Latin cross, with a very large nave and transepts, no choir, but an apsidal-chapel at the east end, and ten other chapels on the east side of the transepts, and with a chapel at the end of each transept. The nave is of seven bays, with long and lofty arches; the windows are long and narrow, of two lights, with plain circles in the head, and with transoms, also filled with painted glass. The clerestory windows are similar to those in the aisle walls, only shorter and without transoms. There are stone arches across the aisle to carry the wooden roof, in the place of wooden principals; the roofs are plain and poor, as if intended to have been temporary only. The refectory in the cloister, which connects it with the church, is of the same style, which in England would be of the thirteenth, and here is of the fourteenth. The chapter-house has been rebuilt in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. There are several fine tombs in the church and in the portico, some of which are of the fourteenth century. The belfry or campanile was rebuilt in 1847.

The well-known Orsan Michele is a very remarkable building, a large square massive structure of three stories high, with the richest decorations on the exterior. It was originally built as a public granary in 1284, but destroyed by fire, and rebuilt in 1349, and converted into a church, dedicated to S. Michael; but the ground-floor only, the two upper stories were made into a Record-office. There are fine statues in niches at the angles.

The churches of the Annunziata and of S. Mark have been almost entirely rebuilt, and may now be considered as modern buildings.

S. Miniato *has been* a very fine church, but its historical and archæological interest has been almost entirely destroyed by modern alterations, miscalled *restorations*, and by turning it into a public cemetery for wealthy people, who can afford to spoil it. The remains of the monastery on which it stands have also been modernized and spoiled, but the external walls and distant effect remain good. The church was founded by Bishop

Hildebrand in 1013, who afterwards became Pope, but there is nothing of his time that remains visible; the greater part of the present fabric is of the fifteenth century and later, but the plan is ancient and not very common, though more common in Italy than elsewhere. The nave has a wooden roof, with stone arches across nave and aisles to carry it; the west front is of the black-and-white marble panelling, and modern. The peculiarity consists in the east end, which is of two stories, both open to the nave. The crypt is some feet below the level, with two flights of steps down into it, and the choir is raised several feet above the level of the nave, upon the vault of the crypt. It was rebuilt in 1448; there are some fine mosaic pictures and faded paintings. The tower was built in 1519, and is not ornamental, though it is said to have been much esteemed by Michael Angelo.

There are some other fine palaces in Florence, with remains of their fortifications; perhaps the finest is the one now made into the museum before mentioned, which has the battlements and *machicoulis* preserved or restored, and evident remains of the *hourds* or wooden balconies; the holes for the timbers, and corbels for the shutters hanging over the windows. It was the Prætorium, and was begun in 1255.

The Palazzo Vecchio, or Town-hall, has a very rude, venerable, and antique appearance on the exterior; but the interior has some good work of the time of the Renaissance. The corridors in the interior have the character of the fourteenth century, and the upper story has been added, or totally rebuilt with its *machicoulis*. The tower is remarkably tall, with battlements and a gallery round the upper part, also totally rebuilt with its *machicoulis*. It was commenced in 1298, but the inner court of the palace is of 1550. The great council-chamber was built in 1495 in the cinque-cento style.

The great Pitti Palace was originally begun in 1440, but there is nothing now visible of that period; it was rebuilt by the Medici in the sixteenth century, and a large part is of the eighteenth.

The Fermo Palace, at the foot of the principal bridge (occupied for public offices), is another of the medieval castles of the same type; the battlements and *machicoulis* are imposing, and the remains of the *hourds* are often puzzling to strangers.

The picturesque palace or castle is a fine feature of the Florentine buildings. Another feature generally noticed consists of the numerous *loggias*, a sort of fine porch on short arcade, generally at the angle of a large open space, producing a very fine effect. They are of several periods, some of them very early.

There are some fine spires in Florence, perhaps the most elegant is that of the Badia, near the Palazzo Vecchio, said to have been built about 1330, but looking earlier.

Pisa.

The style usually called "Lombardic," is more correctly called the "Pisan style," although examples of it are found in all parts of Lombardy,—in the campaniles and belfry-towers of Rome,—and in the Rhine churches. It had its origin in the Republic of Pisa, and the Pisans are justly proud of having been the inventors of it. As exact dates are important in these matters, a list of well-known examples is added in a note [h], which should be taken in connection with those of Lucca, which are better preserved, and less altered than those of Pisa itself. The leaning-tower is one about which there can

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[h] Buildings in Pisa, with Historical Dates:—

The Cathedral, 1067—1118. The central cupola or dome was destroyed by fire in 1596, and rebuilt by the Medici, whose arms are carved upon the arches, but they seem to have used the old materials. The nave has been lengthened nearly one-half; the foundations of the original west front were seen under the modern pavement by M. Rehalt de Fleury, of Paris, who has published a plan of it; the vaults and clerestory added throughout the building. The dates on the mosaic pictures of the eastern apse, 1290 and 1320, probably indicate the time when that part of the fabric was completed.

The leaning tower, 1174—1350. It is eight storeys high, and the last date is that of the upper storey only.

The Baptistery, 1153, 1278—1350 (?).

The Campo Santo, 1108—1178 (?), 1278—1463.

Church of S. Caterina, 1253.

Church of San Frediano, 1077 (?).

Church of S. M. della Spina, 1230 (?), 1323.

Church of S. Paolo, 1115.

There are considerable remains of the city walls of the fourteenth century, with towers at intervals. One of these, on the bank of the river, has remarkably fine and bold *machicoulis*.

be no mistake; the lower part of it, begun in 1174, has given the character of the whole, although the upper storey (the eighth) is said not to have been completed until 1350. On the other hand, travellers are very apt to be misled by the dates given in the guide-books to the Campo Santo, "the Baptistery," and "the Cathedral." The Campo Santo was begun in 1188, but the actual work of this splendid cloister, as now visible, is chiefly of the fourteenth century.

The Baptistery was *begun* in 1153, and although it was consecrated as completed in 1278, the greater part of what we now see is also of the fourteenth century. The pulpit is of 1160.

The Cathedral was *originally begun* in 1067, and was consecrated by Gelasius II. in 1118, as recorded by the inscription built into the west front, but built in as old materials, and as an historical record of the previous building, to which the present west front was added a century afterwards. The construction of the side walls shews very clearly that the building has been raised to double the original height throughout, and that the nave has been lengthened by more than a third at the west end, so that the actual west front is certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century. Several other inscriptions, giving the dates for particular parts, are also built in, and some of them are in their original places; these are all of the thirteenth century. The interior is thoroughly modernized, and there are many inscriptions recording when this was done; Gregory III., 1658, Clement VII., 1688, and the arms of the Medici, are carved on the key-stones of the tower-arches.

The small church of St. Paul, which is said to have served as a model for the *duomo* or cathedral, is in a more genuine state, but even here the interior is much spoiled; and on the exterior, the construction shews that the side wall has been raised, and the west front added in the same manner as in the cathedral, but at an earlier period, and that the west front is also of the thirteenth century. The Pisan style was therefore contemporary with our Early English style, and with the Early French style of the north of France, not with the Romanesque style of France, or with our Anglo-Norman style.

The most marked feature of this style is the abundant use of colonettes, or shafts in small arcades, both on the exterior and in the interior. The other churches of Pisa, and those

of Lucca and other towns within the territory of the medieval Republic, are in the same style.

The pretty little chapel of La Spina at Pisa is well known in England by engravings and photographs, but this must not be confounded with the Pisan style, from which it is quite distinct; although the general effect is good and rich, it does not bear much examination, being made up of the work of three periods. It was originally built in the thirteenth century; the only part of that period which remains visible is the west front, with the segmental arch over the doorway inserted at a later time: it was almost rebuilt in the fourteenth; the side windows and pinnacles are of that period: the east end was rebuilt and added to in the fifteenth. It has been again almost rebuilt in 1873, under the name of restoration, having been much damaged by the great flood of the Arno in 1872. Unfortunately *restoration* generally destroys the historical value of a building.

Lucca.

This city belonged to the Republic of Pisa at the time that most of the churches were built or rebuilt, and as the place has always been poor when compared with Florence or Pisa, the buildings are for the most part in a more genuine state. Several of the churches were founded at an earlier period, and travellers (here, as elsewhere) are commonly misled by their guide-books, into the idea that the existing buildings belong to the time of the foundation, which is very rarely the case; on the contrary, there is generally just enough of the original fabric remaining to shew that the existing structure belongs almost entirely to a much later period. The *duomo*, or cathedral of S. Martin, was founded in 1060, and originally built in two years, when the founder became Pope Alexander II.; but of this original structure there is nothing visible. The very fine west front, with its grand porch in three arches below, and arcades with the detached colonnettes of the Pisan style above, was built in 1204—1233, as dated by contemporary inscriptions on the building itself. The sculptures over the doorways are of that period; the labyrinth engraved on the south side is of the same period. The north side of the church is of the fourteenth century, with shallow panelling, and a fine example

of the Italian Gothic. In the interior the pier-arches belong to the same date as the western front; the upper part, and the eastern part, are all of the fourteenth. The apse is very fine, with the detached colonnettes and horizontal cornices, but this must belong to the later period. In Lucca, both the horizontal cornice and the arcade are used, and both seem to be contemporaneous, though one is usually considered to belong to the earlier Lombard style, and the other to the Pisan style, copied in the Rhine churches. The construction does not bear out this difference in Lucca.

S. Frediano is a very interesting church, and little altered since the twelfth century; but there is nothing visible of an earlier period. It was founded by the Lombard kings in 560—78, in honour of an Irish saint, but the only part of that period that is visible is the foundation of the tower, for a few feet from the ground, where the wide vertical joints indicate an early period; but a horizontal moulding, or string, occurs at about six feet from the ground, which belongs to the twelfth century, and all above that line is of the latter period; the upper part is modernized. The tower, of very early foundation, is oblong in plan, and this is the case with nearly all the towers of Lucca. Both the apse and the west front are good examples of the style of the twelfth and thirteenth century in this district. The church contains a remarkably fine font, or baptistery, a circular wall of marble, ten feet in diameter and four feet high, well carved with a series of Scriptural subjects, represented in a very singular manner, according to the ideas of the time, and inscribed with the name of the artist, Robertus, and the date, 1151. He must have been one of the best sculptors of his time.

The choir of S. Michael was founded in 764, by Luitprandus, but there is nothing visible of that period, it was almost entirely rebuilt in the twelfth century; the west front is dated 1188, and has recently been restored: it is a sham front, rising high above the roof of the nave, as is common in Italy. The tower on the side is original, and good work of the twelfth century.

Lucca is full of churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of them neglected and desecrated. There are also two fine palaces facing each other, one of which retains

its tower; they are attributed to the sixteenth century, but the architectural character looks much earlier.

The small elegant chapel or oratory of La Rosa must not be forgotten; the idea is said to have been taken from that of the Spina at Pisa, but it is quite a different style and less altered, it is dated by an inscription upon it, 1308; the windows have flat tympana, filled with rich tracery. The inscription is carved on a scroll held by a Madonna, attributed to Giovanni de Pisa, placed at the angle, and supposed to indicate the date when the building was completed; it was begun in the thirteenth century.

Lucca, after Pisa itself, is the best example of the style of the Pisan Republic, to which the campaniles, or belfry-towers of Rome, and the well-known apses with the light arcades in the Rhine churches, also belong. The dates of the churches in Lucca are unusually well preserved by inscriptions *in situ*, and by good local histories, in which authentic documents are cited. A chronological table of the churches of Lucca will therefore be useful as a guide in other places, the construction and details of which agree with these; we therefore give a list of them in a note [i].

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[i] Buildings in Lucca, dated by Inscriptions and by Authentic Documents:—

A.D. 1109. S. Peter, rebuilt. Bertini Documenta, &c., tom. iv. p. 347.

A.D. 1151. S. Frediano, the font carved—

MILLE . CLI . ROBERTVS . MAGIST . ITius . *operis.*

The latter part of the inscription is damaged; some read it LA*pidum*

A.D. 1167. SS. MM. Vincentius and Anastasius, the façade—

UNDECIES CENTUM CVM SEXAGINTAQVE SEPTEM
POST ANNOS CHRISTI TRISTIS CAPELLA FUISTI.

A.D. 1195. S. Micheletto, rebuilt. Ibid., p. 308.

A.D. 1200. S. Julia, in ruins and rebuilt. Ibid., p. 232.

A.D. 1203. S. Peter, the façade added. Ibid., p. 347.

A.D. 1204. Façade of S. Martin—

CONDIDIT ELECTI TAM PULCRAS DEXTRA GUIDECTI, M CC IV.

A.D. 1223. S. Frediano. Campanile—

MAGISTER JOANNES PISANUS FECIT, A.D. 1223.

A.D. 1233. Porch of S. Martin (the Cathedral)—

HOC OPUS CEPIT FIERI AB ELANATO ET ALDBRANDO OPERARIIS.

A.D. 1308—1320. The eastern part. All east of the nave.

A.D. 1308. Oratory of La Rosa, with the Madonna of Giovanni di Pisa.

Venice.

The Venetian style is, in like manner, confined to the territory of the medieval Republic of Venice, which included Verona and other towns. Its peculiar character is well known: perhaps a certain mixture of Oriental character and the frequent use of the ogee arch may be considered as the most distinguishing features. Most of the Venetian palaces and other buildings of this style are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and its peculiar features do not appear to have been developed at an earlier period. The peculiar dentil, or square billet ornament, which is one of its most invariable marks, and is used with singular profusion, is found in England only in Jacobean work.

The beautiful palaces on the grand canal, with windows of Decorated tracery that looks to English eyes naturally like work of the fourteenth century, and with their elegant balconies, are in reality very much later, and are only close imitations of the old style. The Italians are always admirable imitators, but have no invention; they always endeavoured to imitate the old Roman style throughout the Middle Ages, with a few rare exceptions introduced by foreigners. An Italian porch of the thirteenth or fourteenth century is frequently a classical colonnade, very probably the columns being antique, and the rest closely imitated. Examples of this kind are extremely common in churches in all parts of Italy, the Gothic style never took root there.

The celebrated Doge's palace, one of the finest domestic or palatial buildings in the world, is not of the Venetian style, excepting the upper part, which is of the sixteenth century, when it was rebuilt after the great fire, and this is extremely flat. The singularity of it is, that it is built of pink marble, cut in imitation of bricks. The splendid porticoes, or arcades, on which it rests, belong to the original building, but were a long time in hand; the greater part of the actual work, towards the *place* or square, is of the fifteenth century, though the earlier part, towards the lagune, is of the fourteenth. The costumes of the figures in the beautifully-carved capitals are chiefly of the fifteenth. A view of the palace, in its original

state before the fire, is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library[k].

Milan.

The celebrated church of S. Ambrose is one that will naturally attract the attention of any student of architecture who visits this city, and it is well deserving of careful study, but it requires a separate work, and a number of plans and sections and details to explain how much of it is really ancient; it contains work of several periods. The very rich and fine sarcophagus (said to contain the ashes of Stilicho, *c.* A.D. 400) now stands under the pulpit of the thirteenth century. It is one of the finest Christian sarcophagi of the fourth century. This church was rebuilt by Archbishop Anspertus, 868—881, and part of the walls is of that period. The very rich altar, faced with gold plates, was presented by Archbishop Angilbertus, about 835. The chair of the Archbishop is also of great antiquity.

The fine pulpit under which the sarcophagus is placed bears an inscription of the thirteenth century, stating that it was made by the order of Gulielmus de Promo, who had caused many other works to be done in this church. A great part of the existing fabric is of his time, but with the old materials preserved, including ancient marble columns and capitals. The canopy over the altar (or *baldachino*) is a fine one of the thirteenth. The entrance-cloister, or *quadri-porticus*, is attributed to the ninth century, and the original parts are probably of that period, but it has been almost entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth. Various tombs and fragments of an earlier period are built into the walls.

The church of S. Lorenzo is more curious than beautiful; it stands behind a grand colonnade of Corinthian columns of the third century, which belonged to the thermæ of that period, but have been supported by brickwork in the thirteenth. The church is made out of one of the great circular

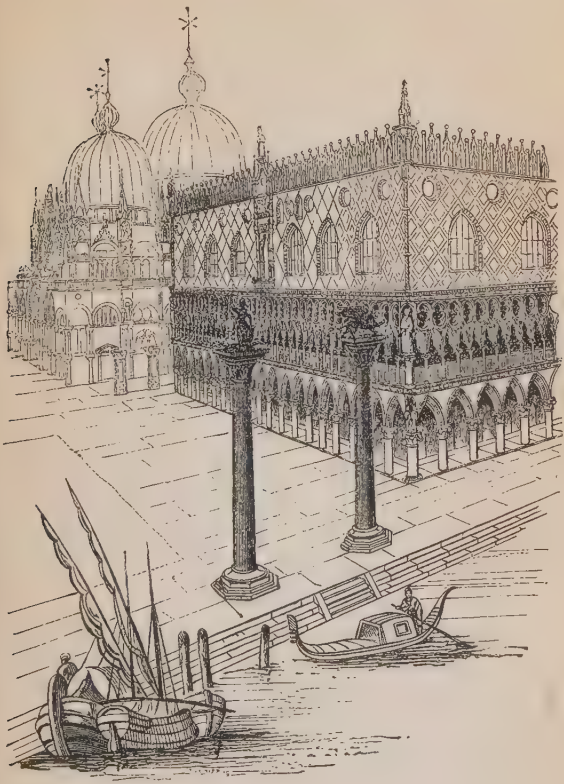
[*See p.* 298.

[k] This was kindly pointed out to me some years since by Mr. H. O. Coxe, the Librarian, and I had it engraved on wood by Orlando Jewitt. I am now able to shew my readers the contrast between the old palace before the fire in the sixteenth century, and the *restoration* of it.

View of the Doge's Palace and S. Mark's in A.D. 1360.

From MS. Bodl. 264, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

View of the Doge's Palace and S. Mark's in A.D. 1853.



From Original Drawings.

halls of the thermæ (called a *nymphæum*). Two churches in Rome were made out of halls in the thermæ of Diocletian, but those were not made into churches until the sixteenth century, and this in Milan appears to have been made about the same time. Under the large arches a curved sub-arcade is introduced, as in S. Vitale at Ravenna, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, but this is probably only an imitation. The exterior is enclosed by houses, except the front, which is not ornamental; and the interior is so much modernized, that it has quite a modern look, though it makes a fine lofty circular church.

Milan can perhaps hardly be said to have a style of its own; and yet the abundant use of moulded brick, and its very superior quality, with the sparing use of stone dressings, give a very fine character to the domestic buildings of this city: but these features are not peculiar to it; they prevail over the whole of Lombardy.

The principal building of this kind in Milan is the great public hospital, which has nine courts or quadrangles; only the principal court and the front are of the splendid brickwork or *terra-cotta*, which is quite unrivalled in its kind.

The cathedral of Milan is veneered with white marble, and although, from its great extent, the effect on the whole is very magnificent, yet in point of style it is undoubtedly very bad; the open pierced parapet, standing out against the sky, has the appearance of being cut out of card-board. The vaults have ribs *painted* upon them, so cleverly that it is difficult to see that they are only painted.

Vercelli.

S. Andrea at Vercelli is a very remarkable church; it is a mixture of the French Gothic of the thirteenth century with the Pisan style of the same period. The effect of this union is singular, but very effective; the chief feature is the west front or façade, which has two flanking towers, with a rose window in the French style in the centre, and two small arcades of the Pisan style in the upper part, with the light elegant detached colonettes. The interior has been spoiled. There is a sort of lantern-tower over the central space, and another tower near the choir, which does not seem to belong to the original design.

The church was begun in 1219 by a French architect, for

Cardinal Guala di' Birchieri, who had been Papal Legate in England in the time of King John and Henry III., and who held the living of Chesterton, near Cambridge, where there is some very good Early English work that is probably of his time, as he always had a taste for architecture. The interior of S. Andrea appears to have had originally a good deal of the light elegant Early French Gothic character. The campanile, which is detached, was added in 1399.

The very fine cathedral of Genoa is a remarkable instance of the successful use of old materials, although inscriptions state correctly that the present church was built in 1300—1312; yet all the doorways, the finest features of the church, are preserved from another building quite a century earlier, and inscriptions on some of the doors record this. The frequent use of old materials, especially doorways, in rebuilding churches has never been sufficiently attended to.

Bologna.

This is one of the most remarkable cities in Italy, and one at which any student in history should make a halt to examine it. Nowhere else can we see arcades and colonnades of three miles long; and the celebrated leaning-towers are quite unique. The fact of their leaning over so much out of the perpendicular without falling is a proof of the strength with which they are built, and the excellent mortar that was used; they also serve to illustrate an interesting chapter of medieval architecture and customs. There was once a tower to every house of importance in Italy; it was one of the marks of rank, but they were also important means of defence. The artillery of those days consisted of paving-stones, and whoever could throw them from the greatest height had the most powerful castle. The bottom or ground-floor of these towers, is frequently solid to make a secure foundation, and to resist the battering-ram. The entrance was frequently on the first floor, and the steps drawn up, (as in the Irish round-towers,) and each succeeding storey could be defended in the same manner. When they had attained sufficient height, an arrangement was made to throw out on all sides a wooden scaffold or balcony, called a *hourd*, on which the defenders could stand, and from which they could throw down large stones on the heads of assailants. Holes through the wall on the level of the floor, to pass the poles through,

remain, so that a *hourd* could be thrown out at any time even now.

These leaning towers are of a tremendous height, each succeeding generation having carried them a storey higher, in constant rivalry one with the other; he whose tower was the highest had the command of the others. The two that lean in different directions are higher than the others, and near together, but were separated by a street, and belonged to two different families. There are remains of many other of these towers in Bologna, and they are common in all parts of Italy.

The churches of Bologna are not particularly fine. The largest church in the city is S. Petronia, a great work begun on a most magnificent scale in the fifteenth century, but in the old style of plan and construction, though the details belong to the period of the Renaissance; the nave only was completed, and the transept commenced; a small altar in the middle of the nave serves the purpose of a choir. This arrangement was intended to have been temporary only. The church is said to have been commenced in 1390, and the work was abandoned in 1659. The length of the nave is 383 ft.; the breadth, including the large chapels between the buttresses, 156 ft.; the original plan was for a church of 790 ft. long. The nave makes a lofty and fine church; its columns have half capitals at different levels, one for the vaults of the aisles, the others for that of the nave, as is common in Italy.

The church of S. Dominic has a west doorway and some other remains of a Gothic church of the thirteenth century; it has been thoroughly altered and modernized, both inside and outside, and may now be considered a modern church.

S. Stephen.

The collection of seven churches which go by the general name of S. Stephen, are curious and well worth careful study, but it would be a long work, and would require many drawings, plans, and sections to explain the different periods. It is built on the site of a pagan temple, and the materials of it have been freely used in the construction of this church or churches. There are antique marble columns, capitals, and bases, not always fitting into one another, and rarely, if ever, in their original places.

The earliest church is the one called the Holy Sepulchre. It is circular, with antique columns, some of these in twins, or double columns, but one has a capital used as a base, and there are other signs of rebuilding. Under it is a crypt of the eleventh century, with stunted columns, the capitals of which are left plain, not carved. There is a fine early pulpit in the church of the Sepulchre.

The first church has been rebuilt, and is now modern; the second is the one called of the Sepulchre; the third, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, is of the eleventh century, with some *antique* capitals, others plain, not carved. A sarcophagus of the third century is used as a side altar, no doubt it contains the relics of some martyr. The fourth church, called the "Hall of Pilate," is made out of the cloister court, with a font in the centre. There is a fragment of Roman reticulated-work of the second century in the wall; probably a portion of the wall of the old temple has been preserved, though it has been thoroughly concealed by plaster in other parts. The fifth church is the crypt under that of the Sepulchre, and is of the eleventh. The sixth church is made in a cloistered court of the twelfth, with an upper storey of the thirteenth, which is well preserved, with twin shafts. The seventh church, called of the Holy Trinity, is of the twelfth century, with antique capitals, as before.

The idea of a Lombardic style belonging to the ancient Lombards appears to be altogether a delusion; the small remains that there are in Lombardy of any buildings before the eleventh century are distinctly of Roman character. At Como and in the suburbs are two remarkable churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which may be called Lombardic, but do not amount to a distinct style. The Certosa, or Charter-house at Pavia, is a very fine building, and the church very rich, but it belongs chiefly to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In Naples and Sicily there is a mixture of the Byzantine and Oriental character with the Roman, and occasionally portions of Norman, giving this part of Italy quite a style of its own[1].

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[1] The best work on the architecture of Italy is still the "Remarks" of Professor Willis, published in 1835. The work of Mr. Okeley, on the "Development of Christian Architecture in Italy," published in 1860, contains

Spain.

The different provinces of Spain differ from each other in their architecture as in their history; some of the buildings are purely Moorish, others have a mixture of that style, while in other parts they are almost French. The idea of the Gothic style having originated in Spain, and spread from thence to other parts of Europe, is now generally exploded; an examination of the buildings of Spain, with their history and dates, does not in any degree bear out that theory. The use of the dome does, however, occur in some districts at an early period; and here, as elsewhere, the Gothic style may have been developed, without being copied from any other country[m].

Switzerland has no distinct architecture of its own, for the obvious reason that in the Middle Ages, when these buildings were erected, it had no separate existence. In some cantons the buildings are French, in others German, and in others Italian, according to the country they belonged to at the time when their architecture flourished. The buildings follow the same order as the languages,—here, as everywhere else, they are part of the history of the people.

The architecture of Belgium may be divided into two main portions; that of the hilly country which formed the province of Liège, which partakes of the German character, and that of the level country of Flanders, which has more of the French. In many of the domestic buildings there is a mixture of Spanish character, but this is hardly perceptible in the churches. The celebrated Town-halls, or "Hotels de Ville," have quite a character of their own, not borrowed from any other country. They are the finest buildings of their class in Europe.

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a great deal of valuable observation, being the result of a three years' tour as "Travelling Bachelor" of the University of Cambridge: but unfortunately it is drawn up rather in the form of a mathematical treatise, illustrated by diagrams, than in a readable form, as a work of historical research. There is a good deal of information in the book, but it is very difficult to get at it.

[m] For the Architectural History of Spain, see "Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain," by G. E. Street, F.S.A. London, 1865, 8vo.

The architecture of Holland is rather German than Flemish, but has a distinct national character of its own. Many of the churches are fine, large, and lofty buildings, with large windows, originally filled with rich painted glass, which has been preserved in a few instances, as at Gouda; but in general all ornament has been so ruthlessly destroyed by the iconoclastic zeal of the presbyterians, that one is rather surprised they did not destroy these fine churches of the fifteenth century altogether, and retain the large barns of the same period, which would have been more convenient for their purposes, and more consistent with their ideas of what a place of worship ought to be,—as opposite as possible from that of Solomon's Temple.

The church of Roda-Rolduc in Limburg, near Aix-la-Chapelle, is now in Holland, but it is properly a German church, and it is valuable to us as a well-dated example of the twelfth century, and as shewing the sense in which the Lombard style was then understood in Germany. It bears a close resemblance to our own Norman style of the early part of the twelfth century, with some peculiarities. The chronicle of the abbey has been preserved and printed, and it proves that the church was begun in the Lombard style in 1108 and not finally consecrated until 1209, but the choir, with the crypt under it, was completed in 1138. This crypt, or underground chapel, is the richest and the best-preserved part of the edifice, and bears a close resemblance to the crypt of Canterbury, with the same shafts ornamented with spiral and zig-zag fluting in the same manner, the capitals and bases rather more rich. A very similar crypt occurs in a church near Munich of about the same period, and others occasionally in other parts of Germany. The windows of the upper church in the outer walls of the aisles and transepts are chiefly small single lights, round-headed, but in the ends of the transepts are large quatrefoil windows; these are dated A.D. 1143, an earlier date than has been observed for a quatrefoil window in England or France, and this seems to be one of the early steps towards window tracery [n].

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[n] See the Gentleman's Magazine for 1865, pp. 409—411, with the engravings from Dr. Bock's work there given and the authorities cited. The chronicle is printed in the seventh volume of the History of Limburg, Liège, 1852.

Germany.

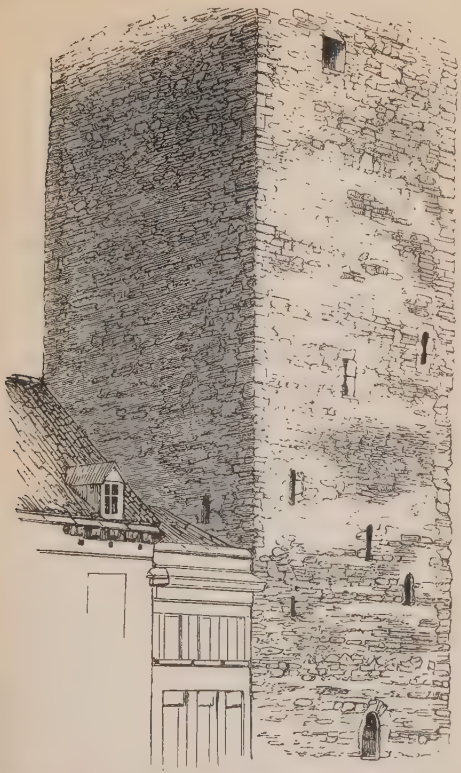
The different kingdoms and provinces of Germany have each a style of their own, just as in France and Italy. There may be said to be a German Gothic style, just as there is said to be an Italian Gothic style and a French Gothic style; but as we have seen that the northern and southern states of those countries differ widely from each other in their architecture as in their history—for the one is inseparable from the other—so it is in Germany: the architecture of the Rhine provinces, which is the most familiar to English travellers in general, is no type of that of the rest of Germany; it bears more resemblance to that of Pisa, and it has been assumed that both are derived from a common origin of the time of Charlemagne,—which is so far true that the style of that period was a debased Roman, and both these are developments from the Roman; but as the existing buildings in both districts belong almost entirely to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, there does not appear to be much connection between them and the buildings of Charlemagne.

At Aix-la-Chapelle one of the towers of the palace of Charlemagne remains, now forming the watch-tower attached to the town-hall, the rest of which has been rebuilt. This was probably always a watch-tower. The walls and plan of the cathedral are also of his time, with great additions and alterations: the design is evidently copied from the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna; the construction is debased Roman.

The campaniles or belfry-towers of Germany have quite a distinct character of their own, which seems to be a development of the Anglo-Saxon towers of England, originally carried to Germany by the English missionaries, but never fully developed in England because the Normans preferred their own towers, which are of a different type. The earlier belfry-towers in Germany approach the nearest to the Anglo-Saxon type; *long-and-short work* is frequently used, and most of the other characteristic features of that style are found. This type of tower spreads over nearly the whole of the north of Germany, and into the German part of Switzerland, where we also find at Roman-Motier a church, with other parts besides the tower, of Anglo-Saxon character[o].

[o] See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 253, 1857.

Remembering that a great part of Germany was converted to Christianity by English or Anglo-Saxon missionaries, it seems



189. Portion of the Tower of the Palace of Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle, shewing the Original Masonry.

probable that they brought their own style of church building with them. It may be, however, that both copied their earliest

stone buildings from the wooden buildings which were in use before.

In some of the churches on the Rhine of the twelfth century very peculiar windows are used; they are of an ugly shape, and not much to be admired in themselves, but they are cuspated, and are perhaps the earliest examples of the use of cusps. It seems probable that window-tracery may have been developed in Germany earlier than in France or England.

In part of Germany domical vaults are found of a style very similar to those of Anjou and Poitou, but there is no reason to suppose that they are copied one from the other; both are probably developed in the same manner from the mixture of the Byzantine and the Roman, and by a further development from that mixture the Gothic style may have been worked out in both countries, with such variations as we find. Some of the German antiquaries are very zealous in the cause of nationality, and stoutly maintain the German origin of the Gothic style; and this may be true of German Gothic, without its following that either France or England copied their own styles from Germany: the same development may have taken place in different countries under different circumstances. Whether this took place simultaneously or not is another question, which cannot be settled until the dates of the buildings in each country are more carefully investigated [p].

Conclusion.

The introductory remarks prefixed to Dr. Whewell's paper are so entirely to the purpose, and express so much better than I could have done it myself, one of the objects of this little work, that I venture to make use of them as a conclusion to

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[p] The English reader wishing to study the architecture of Germany will derive much information from Dr. Whewell's "Architectural Notes on German Churches," and the "Notes on the Churches of the Rhine, by M. de Lassaulx" appended to the third edition of that work. These relate chiefly to the earlier German churches and the development of Gothic, and should be followed up by Dr. Whewell's very able "Remarks on the Complete Gothic and After-Gothic Styles in Germany," in the Archæological Journal, vol. vii.

it, and am glad to be able to shelter myself under so nigh an authority:—

"To determine the succession of the architectural styles which have prevailed in any country, is a problem which can be solved only by an extensive and careful examination of the historical and documentary proofs of the dates of buildings, as well as by a survey of the edifices themselves. The *external* evidence, as we may call it, of architectural chronology must be compared with the *internal* evidence of style. Such a task cannot be performed in the course of a rapid tour, nor superseded by any views, however ingenious and persuasive, of the effects which, as we conceive, must have been produced by necessities of construction, or principles of harmony, or tendencies and ideas which have governed and moulded the fabrics of different ages. Such theoretical and imaginative views always require to be substantiated and confirmed by actual history. But though such general speculations are not of themselves sufficient, they may still be not without their value. The architecture with pointed arches, commonly called Gothic, which succeeded the architecture of round arches, called Romanesque, may be supposed to have grown out of its predecessor by certain needs of construction, and to have been unfolded to its complete form by the tendencies and connections thus brought into view. Such a *theory of Gothic Architecture*, as it may be called, I formerly put forward as illustrated by the churches of Germany, especially those of the neighbourhood of the Rhine; and the doctrine thus proposed has been regarded with favour by eminent architectural authorities. M. Boisserée has spoken of this theory as remarkably confirmed by the results which he had obtained by an historical and artistical line of investigation; and M. Viollet-le-Duc of Paris, in an admirable series of articles in M. Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, has maintained the same doctrine, (the derivation of the leading features of Gothic architecture from the necessities of vaulting,) and has supported it with an intimate knowledge of the actual architectural construction of Gothic buildings[q].

"The countenance thus given to the theoretical or ideal view of architecture justifies us, I think, in attempting to apply it in

[q] See *Ann. Arch.*, vol. ii. p. 81, 1845.

other cases also, at least in the way of trial. Such modes of treating the subject may serve to give to the features of architectural styles a connection which otherwise is not seen, and which is nevertheless interesting and instructive, and even real; it being understood that we conceive the necessities of structure to have operated rather in producing the general features of a style, than in determining the form of a special building; and that we suppose the ideas which run through any mode of construction or decoration not to have been so much consciously contemplated, as unconsciously directive."

It is time that the history of architecture in each country should be carefully investigated, and its national character clearly understood, as well as the chronological succession of the various styles; nor is this task so difficult or impracticable as it may at first appear: it will be found that the character of each century is stamped upon its architecture in a very distinct manner, and is paramount to all national or provincial peculiarities. It is true that the round arch continued in use in some countries much later than in others, but the mouldings and details were all changed, though the form of the arch was not.

Baron Quast, the "Inspector of Monuments" for the German Government, at the meeting of the International Congress of Archæologists held at Bonn, under his presidency, jointly with his friend M. De Caumont, in 1868, stoutly maintained the German origin of the Gothic style, and shewed that there had been a sort of colony or station of Byzantine merchants in a part of Germany, who had introduced this architecture to some extent, though not to the same extent as in Perigord. The small church, of the eleventh or twelfth century, of Soezt (which I, fortunately, assisted in preserving), is a curious mixture of Byzantine and Roman character.

As it is quite evident that every nation has its own architecture as naturally as its own language, it follows that the introduction of foreign elements into the architecture of any country is just as much in bad taste as the interlarding the language with foreign words or phrases: both may be gradually assimilated, but neither should be crudely introduced.

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Abacus, the flat member at the top of a capital, originally a square tile, and in the Classical styles always square: this form is retained in French Gothic, 244; and in Norman, 72; but in English Gothic it is usually round, sometimes octagonal. Early English, 121; Decorated, 175; Perpendicular, 207.

Anglo-Saxon Period, 7—18; Cathedral, plan of, 7—9.

Apse, the semicircular space at the end of a building. In Roman Basilicas = the tribune, 2. In Christian churches of the twelfth century the chancel generally terminated by an apse, 54, 55, 87.

Arcade, a series of arches, usually applied to the small ornamental arches only. Norman, 51, 61, 62, 67, 68; intersecting, 57; Early English, 107; Decorated, 181.

Arches, Norman, 47, 66; Early English, 111, 123; Decorated English, 180: Perpendicular, 209; Early French, 240; Decorated French, 258; Flamboyant, 262.

Ashlar-work, masonry of squared or hewn stones, as distinguished from that composed of *Rubble*, rough or unhewn stones: employed by the Romans, 4.

Bull-flower, an ornament peculiar to the Decorated Style, 167, 173.

Cluster, in windows, a small pillar swelling in the middle. Saxon, 30, 31.

Cound, a ring round a shaft, as if to bind it to the larger pillar: it occurs in late Norman work, 65; but is usually Early English, 104, 125; and is seldom used afterwards.

Barrel-vault, resembling the inside of a barrel; called also Wagon-headed and tunnel, 80.

Bar-tracery, that kind of window-tracery which distinguishes Gothic work, resembling more a bar of iron twisted into various forms than stone, 134, 164, &c.

Bases, Norman, 73; Early-English, 122; Decorated, 176, 181; Perpendicular, 201; Early French, 245.

Basilica, the name applied by the Romans to their public halls either of justice, or exchange, or other business; used as churches and afterwards served as models for churches, 1; their plan, 2. This name is used for a church in describing Canute's church, 24.

Battering, sloping inwards from the base.

Battlement, a notched or indented parapet, originally used on castles, but afterwards employed as an ornament on churches especially in the Perpendicular Style, 191, 210; sometimes pierced, or open, 202.

Bead, a small round moulding; also an ornament resembling a row of beads, 72, 75.

Billet, an ornament much used in Norman work, 76.

Blind-story: see *Triforium*, 48.

Boss, a projecting ornament in a vault at the intersection of the ribs, Norman, 80; Early English, 149.

Broach-spire, a spire without any parapet at its base, shewing the junction of the octagonal spire on the square tower, 155.

Buckle, or *Mask*, a kind of corbel, 152.

Buttresses, supports to the wall. Norman, 84; Early English 149—151, 153; Decorated, 189; Perpendicular, 208; Early French 238, 246.

Byzantine Style. The term includes the styles of architecture which prevailed in the Byzantine empire from the foundation of Constantinople, A.D. 328, to its final conquest by the Turks. The plan of these buildings was generally that of a Greek cross with a large cupola rising from the centre, and a smaller one over each of the arms of the cross, and sometimes two on the nave: arches, round or horse-shoe. Specimens found in France.

Canopy, the head of a niche over an image; also the ornamental moulding over a door or window, or tomb; usually crocketed and with a finial at the top, 180—182, 185, 203.

Canute, or *Cnut*: the style of his time, 24; his journey to Rome, 21.

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Carving, on early work executed with the axe only, 51; on later work with the chisel, 51, 52, 57, &c. See *Sculpture*.

Castles, Norman, 41; Early English, 156; Decorated, 188.

Ceiling, the under covering of a roof, floor, &c., concealing the timbers, 183, 209.

Chamfer, a sloping surface forming the bevelled edge of a square pier, moulding, 75, 173, or buttress, 150, 184, 247, when the angle is said to be chamfered off: the two ends of the chamfer are often ornamented, and these ornaments are called chamfer-terminations.

Cinque Cento, the Italian for what we call the sixteenth century, 20.

Cinquefoil, an ornamental foliation or feathering of five leaves or cusps, 138.

Clere-story, or *Clear-story*, the upper story of a church, as distinguished from the triforium or blind-story below it, in which the openings, though resembling windows, are usually blank or blind, not glazed, 48.

Clustered Pillar, a pillar formed of a cluster of small shafts, or made to appear so, 123, 176, and a distinguishing feature of the Gothic styles. In Classical and Norman architecture the columns are plain and not clustered, and this is often the case in French Gothic also.

Coping, the sloping termination of a wall or a buttress, to throw off the water, 151, 185; when forming the top of a buttress, it is also called a gablet, or little gable.

Corbel, a projecting stone to carry a weight, usually carved. In Norman work the corbels are often made into grotesque heads, 63, and the eaves of the roof are carried by a row of corbels called a corbel-table, 79. In the Early English Style the corbels are often carved into the form called a mask or a buckle, 152, but heads are also commonly used, 111, or foliage, 152. In the Decorated Style they are often the heads of a king and a bishop, especially those carrying the dripstone over a door, 178, or a window. In the Perpendicular Style the moulding is often continued, and forms a square or round termination, called a dripstone termination, 200.

Corbel-table, the external cornice in the Norman Style, 78; and used also in the Early English, 152, but not afterwards.

Cornice, the horizontal moulded projection at the top of a building, or of one division of a building, 152—167.

Crocket, an ornament peculiar to the Gothic styles, usually resembling a leaf half opened, and projecting from the upper edge of a canopy or pyramidal covering. The term is supposed to be

derived from the resemblance to a shepherd's crook. It is not used in the Norman Style. Early English, 118; Decorated, 177, 181, 182; Perpendicular, 198, 207; Early French, 238; Flamboyant, 262.

Cruciform Churches. In the western parts of the Roman empire the Latin form was adopted, i.e. the nave long, the choir and transepts short; in the eastern, the Greek form, i.e. the four arms of equal length, 2.

Crypt, a vault beneath a church, generally beneath the chancel only; used sometimes for exhibition of relics, 12, 13. Plan of the Saxon one at Hexham, 14.

Cupola, or *Dome*, a circular concave roof of skilful construction used first in Byzantium, and frequently for covering the portion where the transepts united with the choir and nave, and over each transept or arm of the cross, in the Greek churches, 3.

Cusp, an ornament used in the tracery of windows, screens, &c. to form foliation. It is at first solid, 139, 140; then pierced, 141, afterwards often enriched with carving, 110, 129, 167, 181.

Decorated English Style, the second Gothic style. Windows, shewing geometrical tracery, 163, 164, 167; with rear arch and hanging foliation, 165; flowing and reticulated, 166; square-headed, 168; segmental headed, 169; circular, 170; spherical, 171. Mouldings, 172, 173; Ornaments, 173—175; Pillar, 176; Niche or Tabernacle with figure of Queen Eleanor, 177; Doorway, 178; Porch, 179; Arches, 180; Arcade, 181; Piscina, 182; Vaults, 182; Roofs, 183; Buttresses, 184, 185; Fonts, 186; Fronts, 187.

Decorated French Style, 258.

Diaper, ornamental work cut on the surface of the wall, originally painted in imitation of hangings, 110, 175.

Doorways, Norman, 59; Early English, 144; Decorated English, 146; Perpendicular, 200, 201; Early French, 243; Decorated French, 259; Flamboyant, 260.

Dripstone, the projecting moulding over a door, 146, 178; or a window, 153, to throw off the wet; but it is also used in the interior over arches, 110; and is sometimes called a hood-mould. or, when it is square, a label, 201.

Early English Style, the first Gothic style. Abacus, 121; Arcade, 107; Arch, 111, 123; Base, 122; Boss, 149; Buttress, 149, 15

Capitals, 120; Corbel-table, 152; Cusp, 140; Doorways, 145, 146; Front, 153; Mouldings, 112—117; Pillars, 123; Pinnacle, 150; Porch, 147; Spire, 155; Vault, 148; Windows, 125; circular, 139, 140; progress of Window-tracery, 126—144.

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Eleventh Century, architecture of, 22; a great building time, 24; characteristic features, 24; Towers, 25; Windows, 28.

Elizabeth, the style of the Renaissance, and a mixed style; chiefly houses, 212.

Entablature, the horizontal block of stone or masonry lying across the top of two columns, found in Classical architecture; but by degrees the arch substituted for it, 2.

Fan-tracery Vault, a rich kind of vaulting much used in the Perpendicular Style, and peculiar to England, 204.

Feathering, or *Foliation*, an arrangement of small arcs or foils, separated by projecting points or cusps, 140.

Fillet, a small square band used on the face of mouldings, 116.

Finial, the ornament which finishes the top of a pinnacle, a canopy, or a spire, usually carved into a bunch of foliage, 180, 182, 185, 186, 203.

Flamboyant Style, 260; Doorways, 260; Windows, 261; Arches, 262; Crockets, 263; Mouldings, 263; Pillars, 264; Parapets, 264.

Flying Buttress, or *Arch Buttress*, an arch carried over the roof of an aisle from the external buttress to the wall of the clerestory, to support the vault, 151.

Foils, Foliation, the small arcs or spaces between the cusps or featherings of a window, 140.

Foliage, sculptured ornament in imitation of the leaves of plants, at first very rude and in conventional forms only, 73, 78, 96, 119, 149; afterwards closely copied from nature, 174; and again degenerating into hard square and flat forms, 207.

Foliated. This term is applied to window-tracery, &c., which has cusps, 141.

Foliated Circle: in the tracery of windows, the earliest kinds of bar-tracery, as at Salisbury and Westminster, 110; before

trefoils and quatrefoils and other geometrical forms were introduced.
Font, Baptismal, Decorated, 186.
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Fronts: Norman, 87; Early English, 152; Decorated, 187, 191; Perpendicular, 210.

Gable, the end wall of a building sloping to a point, 153.
Gablets, small gables, 151, 184, 185.
Gargoyle, or *Gurgoyle*, a projecting water-spout, often ornamented with grotesque figures, 185.
Geometrical Tracery: this term is applied when the openings are of the form of trefoils, quatrefoils, spherical triangles, &c. This kind of tracery came into use in the time of Edward I., 163, 164.
Gothic, the style of architecture which flourished in the western part of Europe from the end of the twelfth century to the revival of the Classical styles in the sixteenth, 19.

Herring-bone masonry, flat stones or tiles placed like herring-bones in rough walling, 27.
Holland, architecture of, 305.

Impost-moulding, the point from which an arch springs. Saxon, 23, 30, 31.

Jambs, the sides of a window opening, or doorway, 24.
Joints, the interstices between the stones, filled with mortar, wide in early work, fine in late work, 34, 50.

Lancet Window, a window the lights of which are of the form of a surgeon's lancet, chiefly used in the thirteenth century, but occasionally at all periods. At first they are single, then two, three, 125, 131, or more together, separated by solid masonry, 153, which is gradually reduced in thickness until mere *mullions* are produced, 126; several lancets are then grouped under a single arch, 136.
Long-and-short Work, long stones placed, one vertically up the angle of a building, and the alternate stones flat, as binding stones in the wall, as at Earl's Barton, 28.

Mask, or *Buckle*, an ornament used on corbels in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: when looked at in front it often resembles a buckle, but the shadow of it on the wall is the profile of a human face, 128, 152.

Masonry, Roman, 3; Rubble, 4; Ashlar, 6; Long-and-Short, 27; wide-jointed, 34; wide and fine-jointed, 49.

Monastery, in early times = a church, with three or four priests attached, 17, often called *Minster*.

Mortar, Roman, 6.

Mouldings: Norman, 56, 60, 61, 74—76; Early English, 113—117; Decorated English, 172, 173; Perpendicular, 205—207; Early French, 243; Decorated French, 258; Flamboyant, 263.

Mullion, the vertical bar dividing the lights of a window: it occurs in very late Norman work, 64, but is essentially a Gothic feature.

Newel, a circular stone staircase, generally attached to one angle of a tower, 10.

Niche, or *Tabernacle*, a recess for an image. Norman, 73; Decorated, 177; Perpendicular, 210.

Norman Style, the, commences in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and ceases during the last quarter of the twelfth, 19. Edward the Confessor's work, 32: Masonry, 34; introduction of the Style from Normandy, 39; important buildings of the period were Castles, 41; Plans of Norman Castles, 42; Cathedrals and Churches built and restored, 44; fine-jointed Masonry, 50; progress in the Style as shewn in Canterbury Cathedral, 51; Roofs, 53; Chancel, 54; Arch, 55; Tympanum, 55; Doorways, 59; Windows, 61; Arches, 65; round-headed, 65; of horse-shoe form, 66; stilted, 66; pointed, 67; pointed, previous to the transition, 69. Mouldings, 54, 60, 74; Chevron, 75; Sunk Star, 76; Abacus and string, 76; Billet, 77; Beak-head, 76; Cat's Head 76;—Towers, 81; belfry-story often added, 82; round, 83; Turrets, 83;—Apse, 53; Churches of rich character, 56; examples of, 56, 57. Arcades, intersecting, 61, 67, 68. Piers, square, 65. Pillars, round, 66. Triforium, 69. Capitals, 70; cushion-shaped, 70; rude Ionic, 70; scollopped, 71; sometimes carved after their erection, 72; transitional, 96. Abacus, 72. Bases, 73. Niches, or Tabernacles, 73. Ornament, sculptured, 55, 61, 77; shallow in early work, 77; deep and rich in late work, 77. Corbel-table, 78. Vaults, 52, 79; barrel,

80; groined without ribs, 80; groined with ribs, 80; over a wide space, 81. Buttresses, 84. Porches, 85. Fronts, 87.

Oculus, a term applied to the large circular window at the west end of a church, common in foreign churches, but not usual in England, 63.

Ogee, a moulding formed by the combination of a round and hollow, 206.

Ornaments: the Billet, 77, and the Chevron or Zig-zag, characteristic of Norman work, 61, 75; the Tooth-ornament, of Early English, 112, 114, 117; the Ball-flower, of the Decorated, 174; the Tudor-flower, of Perpendicular, 206.

Panelling, a feature characteristic of the Perpendicular Style, 195, 206, 208, 210.

Parapet, the low wall at the top of a building forming the outline against the sky, at first solid, then often divided into battlements, afterwards pierced with ornamental open-work, 264.

Perpendicular Style. Windows, 196—199; Doorways, 200, 201; Porches, 203, 204; Buttresses, 208; Towers, 201; Vaults with fan-tracery, 204; Mouldings, 201; Tudor-flower, 206; Capitals, 207; Crocket, 207; Open Timber Roofs, 208; Panelled, 209; Panelled Front, 210.

Pier-arches: the main arches of the nave or choir resting on piers are so called, 48.

Piers, Norman, 48, 64.

Pilaster Strips, a term used to describe the vertical projecting parts of the towers supposed to be Saxon, 27, 28.

Pillars, Norman, 51, 65; Early English, 104, 123; Decorated English, 176; Early French, 239; Flamboyant, 263.

Pinnacle, a sort of small spire usually terminating a buttress. Norman, 82; Early English, 150; Decorated, 177, 185.

Piscina, a water-drain in a church placed on the right-hand side of an altar for the use of the priest. Decorated, 182.

Plate-tracery, the earliest kind of tracery, cut out of the solid block or plate of stone, 62, 63, 105, 131, 132, before the lighter kind of tracery, called Bar-tracery, was introduced, but often continued afterwards.

Plinth, the projecting member forming the lower part of a base, or of a wall, 73, 74

Pointed. First, Middle, and Third Pointed Styles, synonymous with the more generally received names of Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, 20.

Pointed Arch. This is usually a Gothic feature, or a mark of transition to it, but it occurs also in earlier work, before the change of style, as at Fountains Abbey, Malmesbury, 68, Kirkstall, 69.

Porch, a projecting structure to protect a doorway. Norman, 86; Early English, 147; Decorated, 179; Perpendicular, 203, 204; Early French, 244; Flamboyant, 260.

Pyramidal Roof, on tower, 28.

Quoins, corner-stones, 27.

Renaissance, Style of the, in England called Elizabethan or Jacobean, 212, 213.

Rib, a projecting band or moulding on the surface of a vault, 80, 149.

Roll, or *Scroll Moulding*, 172; Roll and Fillet, 116.

Romanesque, the French term for the debased Roman styles, including the *Norman* Style, 19.

Roman buildings, remains of in England, 6, 7.

Roman manner, i.e. of stone, 16.

Roman walls, characteristics of, 4.

Roofs of open timber-work made ornamental; but these were frequently, in fact, ceilings, having an outer roof of rough work over them. Decorated, 183—185; Perpendicular, 208.

Rubble-work, masonry of unhewn stones, and in early buildings without mortar, 4.

Saxon Style: earlier buildings of wood, 9, 10; Crypts, 13; documentary evidence relating to buildings, 16; so-called Towers, 24—26. Vide *Eleventh Century.*

Scroll-moulding, a characteristic of the Decorated Style, 172.

Sculpture, when early, always shallow, 53; executed with the axe, 53; Norman, 71.

Shaft, a small slender pillar usually attached to a larger one, or in the sides of a doorway or a window, Norman, 65; Early English, 110, 111, 119, 123; Decorated, 176; Perpendicular, 200. In the Early English Style they are often detached from the wall or pillar, 119, 134.

Spherical triangle, a triangular opening with curved sides, used in clere-story windows, as at Cranford, 171; and in the tracery lights of other windows, as at Merton, 163, and York, 164.

Spire, an essentially Gothic feature. Early English, 155; Early French, 249.

Squinches, the small arches across the angles of a square tower to carry an octagonal spire, 155.

Stone churches, first built, 9.

String-course, a horizontal moulding or course of masonry usually applied to the one carried under the windows of the chancel, both externally and internally, as at Strixton, 153.

Sunk-chamfer moulding, a feature of the Decorated Style, 173.

Tabernacle: see *Niche.*

Timber, Saxon buildings imitate, 7, 27.

Tooth-ornament, an ornament resembling a row of teeth, sometimes called Dog's Tooth and Shark's Tooth. M. de Caumont and the French antiquaries call it *Violette*, and it often bears considerable resemblance to that flower when half expanded; it occurs in Anjou in work of the twelfth century, in England it is rarely used before the thirteenth, when it is so abundant as to form one of the characters of the Early English Style, 111, 114, 116, 117. In France it is used freely in Normandy, but scarcely at all in the Domaine Royale.

Towers, supposed Saxon, 25—28; Norman, 36, 37, 42, 81, 82, 83; Early English, 155; Perpendicular, 202; Early French, 246, 247.

Tracery in Windows, Panels, or Parapets: beginning of in Norman work, 61—63; progress of in Early English, 128—141; Decorated English, 162—170; Perpendicular, 196—199; Decorated French, 258; Flamboyant, 260.

Transept, the portion of the building crossing the nave, and producing a cruciform plan, 2.

Transition. The period of a change of style, during which there is frequently an overlapping of the styles, one building being in the old style, another in the new, at the same period. The last quarter of each century was a period of transition, or change from the style of that century to the style of the one which came after, 19; examples of at Canterbury, &c., 90, 94. This term is chiefly applied to the great change from the Norman, or Romanesque, to the Gothic Style, 90—100; but may also be applied in

a minor degree to each of the subsequent changes of style, 161, 190; in France, 228.

Transom, the transverse horizontal piece across the mullions of a window; it occurs sometimes in Early English, 132, and Decorated work, but is far more common in the Perpendicular Style, 196.

Tribune, the semicircular space at one end of the Basilica, for the judges. In Churches copied from the Basilicas it was retained as the apse, 2.

Triforium, or blind-story, the middle story of a large church, over the pier-arches and under the clere-story windows; it is usually ornamented by an arcade, and fills the space formed by the necessary slope of the aisle roofs: see Winchester, 48, 68; Canterbury, 94; Beverley, 107; Westminster, 110.

Tudor-flower, an ornament belonging to the Perpendicular Style, but not confined to the Tudor period, 206.

Turrets, small towers. Norman, 82.

Twelfth Century: vide *Norman*.

Tympanum, the space between the flat lintel of a doorway and the arch over it, usually filled with sculpture, 55.

Vault, barrel-shaped, 25, 80; Early Norman, 32, 52; groined without ribs, 80: with ribs, 80; over a wide space, 81; Early English, 148; Decorated, 182; Perpendicular, 205; Early French, 233.

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